A STUDY OF THE COMPANY KEPT
BY A SELECTION OF ENGLISH DELEXICAL VERBS
AND
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH
IN HONG KONG

by

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In memory of

my beloved parents

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other Universities.

Signed.....

Date.14th Nov. 1991.....

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the significance of `chunks´ in actual language use and attempts to look for a more effective way of learning these chunks in view of the role of Memory in learning and the unique learning style of the Hong Kong learners. By `chunk´ is meant a combination of two or more words in succession which should best be learnt as an integrated whole.

As many typical types of chunks are related to the so called `delexical verbs´, a group of such verbs in both their lexical and delexical modes were selected for study, particularly the verb `make´, a typical member of this category.

For this examination, a wide-based, up-to-date natural sample of the language was required and the study was fortunate in being able to use the Birmingham Corpus. The analysis of the data was based on the framework of Quirk et al (1985) supplemented by Radford (1988) and the statistical side of the analysis made use of the Spss-x programme. The study of `make´ attempted to look at the proportion of the chunks in the data and at the role of syntax, semantics and lexis in the various usages of the verb. The relations between these three proved delicate and the proportion of chunks high, particularly the delexical chunks.

The difficulties of the Hong Kong learners in the use of a group of delexical verbs having been examined through a study of their essay writing supplemented by a test, essential dimensions of Memory and their relevance to the learning of chunks were investigated. The particular significance of one aspect of Memory i.e. Memorization was considered with special reference to the cultural background and the traditional learning style of the learners.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis may be viewed simply as one of the many attempts to look for better ways of improving the teaching of the English language in the milieu of Hong Kong, together with the theoretical investigation that must of necessity precede such a study.

Having been a teacher of English in several secondary schools of Hong Kong for a number of years, I was perplexed by the fact that in spite of the Hong Kong Government's tremendous and persistent effort in trying to uplift the standard of English in the schools thereof, the results had been deplorably disappointing. Whereas my M.A. dissertation was my first attempt to investigate this problem from the perspective of the attitude of the Hong Kong learners (Fan 1988), this thesis may be seen as a further attempt to tackle the same problem by arguing for a plausible approach to vocabulary teaching.

In a nutshell, various kinds of approaches to the teaching of the English language have been employed in Hong Kong. For example, in 1983 the Oral Structural approach which had been extensively used for nearly ten years was virtually abandoned and the Communicative approach, which is still in current use, was officially recommended for the replacement thereof. The M.A. course I took in 1987/1988, however, introduced me to the realms of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics and I was at the same time amazed to find that what is happening in the classroom is to such a huge extent determined or dictated by the assumptions or

findings of the linguists, the applied linguists and the educational linguists. Even though I was deeply fascinated by the accumulation of knowledge in these disciplines, I have since then gradually become aware of a potential danger in language teaching, that is, the indiscriminate application of certain `models' based on certain language and/or language learning theories regardless of the needs, the cultural background and the learning style of the learners in different learning contexts.

As a teacher, it has been my firm belief that the learners should always be the center of our concern, be it in the selection of teaching materials or in the choice of teaching methodologies. As a matter of fact, teaching is meaningful only when learning actually takes effect. Given that the teacher is in the best position to understand the learners, including their actual needs, their motivations, their learning difficulties, their learning style etc., it is fair enough to say that teaching will be more productive if he or she is clear about what is most needed by the learners and what are the ways most effective for learning.

I have chosen vocabulary to be the specific area of my research because the teaching of this aspect of the language has largely been neglected in Hong Kong. For instance, when the Oral Structural approach was adopted, the teaching of vocabulary was sacrificed owing to the exclusive emphasis on the teaching of structures. Now that the Communicative approach has become dominant, the focus accordingly has shifted to the functions

of the language. There is of course the need to learn both the rules of grammar and the rules of use of the language. However, what is equally important is the knowledge of vocabulary in the target language, which always has a crucial part to play in language learning, irrespective of the change in teaching approaches. For example, a learner may have already mastered the rules of use in the acquisition of his L1, but to be able to communicate in a foreign/second language, he needs the vocabulary of the target language. More importantly, even when there is vocabulary teaching in the classroom, it is always restricted to the teaching of single words in isolation with the provision of translations in the L1 or synonyms in the L2.

Regarding the use of the English language among the Hong Kong learners, one of the aspects I feel strongly about is a sense of `unEnglishness´ in their expressions, a feeling which is also shared by many other teachers of English. Just to list a few examples: `open birthday party´ (**hold/have** a birthday **party**), `go out the bus´ (**get off** the bus), `Everybody did a work such as in a heart´ (Everybody did the work **with one accord**), `accept to my help´ (**accept** my help), `fire to him´ (**fire at** him), `last but not lease´ (**last but not least**), `What are you going on?´ (**How are you getting on?**), `I wish you good lucky! Healthy body!´ (**Good luck and good health**!) etc. All the above examples are taken from some English Compositions by the Form Five students in the 1988 Public Examination. The intended meanings and correct expressions of all the examples are given in brackets.

There may be many possible causes for the aforesaid errors, but what is more important is the difficulty the learners encounter in using these `**chunks**´ of the language as demonstrated in the examples. Indeed, it is this inability to use the `chunks´ of the language that accounts for the sense of `UnEnglishness´ in their performance despite the fact that most of the learners at this stage are quite familiar with the grammatical rules of the language.

On the other hand, when one observes the spoken or the written language of the native speakers of the English language, the use of `chunks´ is so common and frequent that one simply cannot shut one´s eyes to them. One of the most typical examples is the `chunks´ used by the British politicians when they are bombarded with questions by the reporters e.g. `at this stage ...now that I come to think of it, it´s absolutely certain and beyond doubt that...in this day and age....´(Examples supplied by Arthur Brookes 1991).

In fact, it was usage of this nature that has encouraged me to look at language from an `idiomatic´ perspective and convinced me of the possibility that the unit of the vocabulary of the language embraces not only words, but also `chunks´ larger than words e.g. collocations, fixed expressions etc. In this regard, I began to ponder whether or not Communicative Language Teaching has been interpreted in too restricted a manner by not having given `chunks´ their due place in language teaching. Moreover, in a place like Hong Kong where the population is overwhelmingly Chinese and the tradition of the people in memorizing vocabulary

is so pervasive, it might be a good idea to give greater weight to the teaching of `chunks´, making use of the predisposition of the learners in memorizing `chunks´ of various sizes and consequently devising the corresponding teaching methodologies to integrate `chunks´ into texts. In this respect, I gradually take a more positive view of rote learning, on top of my long-standing belief that `chunks´ of all kinds should be learnt in meaningful contexts. In the circumstances, when I was given the opportunity to embark on my research work, I became desirous of exploring the vocabulary units larger than words, in the hope of looking into the implications for teaching arising therefrom.

At the inception of this dissertation, I have discussed the whole issue of `chunks´ in the light of the relevant literature. Since `chunks´ are units consisting of more than one word i.e. a combination of words, the first question to which I tried to look for an answer is `What makes words go together?´ The first Chapter is therefore a discussion of syntagmatic units from various perspectives and it has been concluded that words do enter into grammatical and/or lexical and/or semantic relations with other words. I then attempted to look at `chunks´ in relation to an idiomatic view of language and the linguistic and psycholinguistic evidence in support of this view in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 I have tried to make a classification of the `chunks´ of the language with reference to the idiomatic view of language and based on the learning difficulties involved.

As regards my study, I focused on `delexical verbs´ because `chunks´ of this category of verbs are obviously a dominant feature in modern language use. I assumed that some of the conclusions reached may apply to other types of `chunks´ of the language, whether they be collocations, idioms, fixed expressions in discourse or whatever.

Regarding `delexical verbs´, it seemed sensible to investigate one of them thoroughly and use one of the largest and most recent corpora for the purpose. The delexical verb MAKE was finally decided on as it is a typical member of this family of verbs and, moreover, a preliminary investigation showed that this verb basically enters into most of the relations possible for a verb in the English language. Through the help of my supervisor, I was fortunate to obtain about 4000 examples of the verb **MAKE** in the Birmingham Corpus from Gwyneth Fox on the editorial team of the Cobuild Dictionary. It was decided that 2000 of the examples would be sufficient for the study and hence were picked up randomly. Moreover, for the sake of convenience, these 2000 examples have been named the `**Mini Corpus**´ hereafter. The results of the study were to confirm the prominence of `chunks´ in modern language use before the teaching of these `chunks´ was considered.

The study began by considering in Chapter Four the verb MAKE in a wider context of delexical verbs based mainly on lexicographic evidence as well as the theory of information processing (Quirk et al 1985). This is then followed by a linguistic analysis of the verb in Chapter Five with the view to

providing relevant categories for the Mini Corpus analysis. The framework of the linguistic analysis was mainly based on Quirk et al (1985) supplemented by Radford (1988) as the former is the most comprehensive modern grammar of the English language and the latter is particularly useful in analysing the internal structures of some kinds of `chunks´ of the language. In addition, an attempt was made to look at both the syntax and the semantics of the verb simultaneously, which eventually proved to be a fruitful one.

On the basis of the categories determined by the linguistic analysis of the verb, I made an analysis of the Mini Corpus as reported in Chapter Six. The main aim of the Corpus analysis was obviously to find out the actual frequency of `chunks´ in the language under study. However, in order to make the analysis a more comprehensive one, it was decided that the analysis would look at both the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of the Mini Corpus. Besides, since there were as many as 2000 examples, it was decided that the Spss-x programme should be used for computing the relative frequency of the various categories in the Mini Corpus. Results of the analysis showed that a high proportion of chunks of the verb had been used, in particular, the delexical chunks. In addition, it was an exciting experience to see the difference between how the verb was described by the grammar and how it was actually used by the native speakers of the language. The relation between the syntax and the semantics of the verb in actual language use has also been found particularly interesting.

Before discussing the role of Memory in regard to the learning of `chunks´, it was considered helpful to find out firstly the performance of the Hong Kong learners in the use of the `chunks´ of these delexical verbs. Moreover, it was thought useful to compare the writings of the Hong Kong learners with those of the native speakers at a similar level. Again, with the help of my supervisor, I was able to obtain respectively a batch of 200 English essays from the Examination Authorities of Hong Kong and 60 essays from a Comprehensive School in Durham through an Essay Competition held particularly for the purpose. The results of the analysis as reported in Chapter Seven confirmed the hypothesis that the British learners used the delexical verbs under study more frequently in chunk form and more delexically. As a matter of fact, the T-test employed for the above comparison revealed that there was significant difference between the two groups, particularly in the use of `delexical chunks.´

However, since the number of examples collected from the essays was less than expected and the use of language might have been slightly affected by the cartoons provided in the essay topic, a complementary study in the form of a test for the Hong Kong learners was made to see if the findings of the study of the British and Hong Kong essays could be confirmed. The said test, which was reported in Chapter Eight, was set with a view to finding out whether the Hong Kong learners avoided using `chunks´ which were frequently used by the British learners in their essays and hopefully the difficulties they encountered in using `chunks´ of various kinds. Regarding this complementary study, a class of 39 learners in a Secondary School of Hong Kong

who were at the same stage as those who wrote the Hong Kong essays were selected for the test. Results thereof confirmed the findings of the study of the British/Hong Kong essays as well as indicated the nature of some of the difficulties involved.

Having confirmed the prominence of the usage of `chunks´ through the study of the Mini Corpus and having looked at some of the difficulties the Hong Kong learners might have in using these `chunks´ based on the study of the British/Hong Kong essays and the Hong Kong test, I felt that there was the need to discuss in a more systematic way the more important implications of the findings of these studies for the teaching of the language in general and the teaching of vocabulary in particular. Chapter Nine is a very short chapter especially written for this purpose before concentrating on one aspect in the following chapters.

Finally, I began to consider the teaching of `chunks´ by examining the role of Memory in the acquisition of language in Chapter Ten, in which the various essential dimensions of Memory were meticulously studied so as to prepare the way for the discussion of a special aspect of Memory i.e. Memorization in the final chapter. In Chapter Eleven, I particularly made enquiry into the significant role of Memorization in relation to the learning of `chunks´ with special reference to the cultural tradition and the learning style of the learners in the Hong Kong situation.

The above is a brief introduction to this dissertation. It is hoped that my research will convince the teaching profession that `chunks´ are a distinguishing feature in language use and hence it is important to integrate them more fully into the teaching materials. In the final analysis, the learning of chunks may be more effective if the learners are encouraged to apply their traditional learning style to the learning of the L2, particularly this aspect of the language. It is, of course, essential that chunks should always be learnt in a meaningful way as well. This may in consequence call for a more flexible interpretation of the Communicative Approach to the teaching of the English language in Hong Kong.

Chapter 1

Syntagmatic Relations

1.1 Introduction

It is generally agreed that vocabulary was a neglected area in English Language Teaching in the 60s. The exploration in lexical semantics and the interest in sense-relations between words in the 70s, however, resulted in the componential approach and the structural semantic approach to word meaning respectively. These approaches to meaning have had great effect on teaching and it may be said that they account to a great extent for the emphasis on the teaching of single-word lexical items in the classroom and the neglect of units which are larger than words. Recently, there has been an exploration of a core vocabulary (Carter 1987) as well as an attempt to emphasize the knowledge of lexical patterning in L2 learning and the skills of negotiating meanings in conversation (McCarthy 1984).

However, as Cowie (1988:128-139) referring to McCarthy's interactive view of language has remarked trenchantly, the `negotiative' view of language gives an incomplete picture of the lexical knowledge needed for successful communication.

Cowie begins his argument by clarifying a very basic concept concerning communicative competence, which in his view is not just a matter of strategies or procedures for the communicative use of language, but on top of which there has to be `a basic,

shared code underlying use'. As Brumfit (1985:5) puts it, `We need our understanding of the vocabulary and structure of the language before we can negotiate meaning well.' Moreover, even the view which stresses the importance of `prior knowledge of meaning' in individual participants recognizes the simultaneous need for a `prior knowledge of how such meaning can be realized through the conventions of language form and behaviour' (Breen and Candlin 1980:90).

Cowie (1988:129) is of the opinion that it is difficult to evaluate the claim made by the `negotiative' view of language that the language code elements underlying use are not directly realized or that they are typically negotiated in interaction. It is because there is `a lack of specificity' in referring to the `negotiable code elements'. More importantly, through the analysis of large bodies of authentic data which he undertook while compiling the Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (Cowie et al 1975, 1983), Cowie is convinced that there is a `**stable aspect of vocabulary use.**'

Cowie (1988:129) narrows down the question of stability of meaning by classifying lexical items into two main categories i.e. the technical items and the non-technical items. The latter is further classified into two main sub-categories i.e. (1) words with a small range of sense and (2) `common-core' words. The meaning of the former can be interpreted by both lexical knowledge and contextual clues while the meaning of the latter depends heavily on variable contextual factors as

they are high frequency items which seem to have different interpretations in a multitude of different contexts, and for which it is meaningless to talk of sense.

Most significant of all, however, is Cowie´s observation that there is a `**stabilizing force**´ running counter to the semantic variability of the common-core items. He points out, `Many meanings of such heavy-duty verbs as *bring* and *take* recur repeatedly; and they recur in the particular lexical contexts (the specific collocations) which are found to meet a routine communicative need. Thus various collocations incorporating common-core verbs cluster around everyday domestic activities e.g. *clear the table, lay the table, dry the dishes, put out the cat, put away the car* (Cowie 1988:130).´

Cowie then suggests **a broad spectrum of word combinations** in English with `collocations of words in familiar literal senses´ at one end of the spectrum and `idioms´ (combinations whose constant re-use in a fixed form has led to a radical change of meaning) at the other end. In between, there exist `thousands of word combinations in English `which survive constant reuse in an unchanged or virtually unchanged form.´ Furthermore, Cowie is of the opinion that these `multi-word units´ are a pervasive feature of normal vocabulary use (Cowie 1988:131).

This thesis agrees with Cowie´s observation that there is a stable aspect of the vocabulary. Before examining the pervasiveness of these `multi-word units´ in a Corpus of the English language, the linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of

these units will be examined. The following discussion in this chapter will concentrate on the syntagmatic view of meaning i.e. meaning by collocation. Chapter 2 will look at these various kinds of syntagmatic units in relation to an `idiomatic view of language´ which is based on the assumption of a big memory capacity but limited processing capacity and Chapter 3 is an attempt to make a classification of these units from the perspective of language learning difficulty.

1.2 The Syntagmatic View of Meaning

The combinations of words are related to the `syntagmatic´ dimension of vocabulary in contrast to a paradigmatic one. Palmer (1976:93) defines `syntagmatic´ as `the relationship that a linguistic element has with other elements in the stretch of language in which it occurs´. The syntagmatic view of meaning is `meaning by collocation´. The following will look at this view of meaning in detail.

The term `collocation´ has a long history. H.E. Palmer who wrote a monograph on collocation in 1933 saw collocation as `a highly abstract order of compatibility between linguistic elements´ but as Mitchell (1971:35) says, he did not define the term with any degree of precision. In fact, it was Firth (1951:194) who first proposed to bring forward `meaning by collocation´ as a technical term and to apply the test of `collocability´. In order to understand Firth´s concept of `meaning by collocation´, it is helpful to review briefly Firth´s theory of language and theory of meaning.

At the time Firth was writing, linguistics was largely dominated by the American phoneme-morpheme school. Firth´s view of language, however, was very much influenced by the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. Butler (1985:3,4&5) has made a very detailed report thereof. In brief, as a result of his work among the Trobriand Islanders of the South Pacific (Malinowski 1923 & 1935), Malinowski rejects the approach to meaning based on the correlation of words and referents in favour of a semantics that takes as its basic unit the sentence, which is produced in a particular *context of utterance.* Malinowski finds that in order to understand the meaning of utterances, it is necessary to have knowledge of the *contexts of situation* which are embedded in the *context of culture.* That is to say, the language of a community can only be fully understood in its social contexts of use, and that the meaning of an utterance lies essentially in the use to which it is put. This idea of meaning as function in context (including the social context) thus later became central to Firth´s view of language.

Firth aims at building Malinowski´s concept of *context of situation* into a specifically linguistic theory. Besides proposing categories to describe the *context of situation,* Firth is of the contention that the *context of situation* is just one kind of context in which linguistic units can function. Other contexts are provided by the `levels´ which are postulated to account for various types of linguistic patterning. Butler (1985:5) explains, `Thus grammatical items could be seen as

functioning in grammatical contexts, lexical items in lexical contexts, phonological items in phonological contexts, and so on.'

Furthermore, it is Firth's view of meaning as function in context that caused him to regard all these various types of function, at all levels, as aspects of meaning. Indeed, Firth (1935:19) proposes to `split up meaning or function into a series of component functions. Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to some context. Meaning, that is to say, is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its appropriate context.'

Thus, Firth does not use the term `meaning' in its general sense. He regards any linguistic statement at any level as a statement of meaning. As a matter of fact, he compares his technique to a spectroanalysis, `The suggested procedure for dealing with meaning is its dispersion into modes, rather like the dispersion of light of mixed wave-lengths into a spectrum (Firth 1951:129).'

Within each mode of meaning, or level, Firth sees language as organized along the two axes, syntagmatic and paradigmatic. Elements in syntagmatic association form *structures* at the level concerned, while events in commutative relation at a particular place in a structure are said to constitute a *system*. The relationship between structure and system is as follows (Firth

1957:186): `...system, systems, terms and units are restricted to a set of paradigmatic relations between commutable units or terms which provide values for the elements of structure.´

It is the concept of **structure** at the level of **lexis** that is directly related to the concept of `meaning by collocation´. According to Firth, the concept of structure at the level of lexis is reflected in `**collocation**´. Firth has not defined `collocation´ in a positive way. Instead, he tries to explain what `meaning by collocation´ does not mean,

> `Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark* and of *dark*, of course, collocation with *night* (Firth 1951:196).´

For Firth, accordingly, the collocational approach to meaning is derived solely as an abstraction from formal syntagmatic patterning. Firth is more specific in the discussion of the following examples:

1. An ass like Bagson might easily do that.
2. He is an ass.
3. You silly ass!
4. Don´t be an ass!

Firth (1951:194) says, `One of the meanings of *ass* is its "habitual collocation" with an immediately preceding *you silly*, and with other phrases of address or of personal reference....There are only limited possibilities of collocation with preceding adjectives, among which the commonest are *silly, obstinate, stupid, awful*, occasionally *egregious. Young* is much more frequently found than *old*. The plural form is not very common.´ In fact, Firth explains `habitual collocations´ as follows:

> `The habitual collocations in which words under study appear are quite simply the mere word accompaniment, the other word-material in which they are most commonly or most characteristically embedded (Firth 1957:180).´

That is to say, `restricted company´ and `regular company´ give rise to habitual collocation.

For Firth, the company a word keeps does not only contribute to the meaning of the word, it also distinguishes the meaning of one word from that of other words, `It can safely be stated that part of the "meaning" of *cows* can be indicated by such collocations as *They are milking the cows, Cows give milk*. The words *tigresses* or *lionesses* are not so collocated and are already clearly separated in meaning at *the collocational level* (Firth 1957:180).´

This collocational level is independent of other levels as `the collocation of a word or a "piece" is not to be regarded as mere juxtaposition, it is an order of *mutual expectancy*. The words are mutually prehended (Firth 1957:181).´ Mutual expectancy may be understood as the mutual ability of items to predict each other in a collocation. In other words, the presence of one word may predict the presence of another word and vice versa. And it is the `most common´ and the `most characteristic´ company a word keeps that makes the mutual predictability possible.

Whereas collocation reflects the concept of structure at the level of lexis, the counterpart of collocation at the grammatical level is `**colligation**´. While collocations are relations between individual lexical words, colligitions are relations between grammatical categories. Firth (1975:181) says,

> `The statement of meaning at the grammatical level is in terms of word and sentence classes or of similar categories and of the interrelation of those categories in colligations. Grammatical relations should not be regarded as relations between words as such - between `watched´ and `him´ in `I watched him´ - but between a personal pronoun, first person singular nominative, the past tense of a transitive verb and the third person pronoun singular in the oblique or objective form.´

Firth, however, did not explore further the relationship between collocation and colligation.

In short, it can be said that Firth's concept of `meaning by collocation' is basically concerned about language use. He rejects a word based statement of meaning in favour of meaning from a syntagmatic point of view and he should be given credit for doing that especially when he wrote at a time when American linguists allocated the relationship between words to syntax and semantics and the lexicon was viewed as `a ragbag of the irregularities and idiosyncracies' in language.

However, there are a few things Firth has not clarified. While he has introduced the concept of meaning by collocation, he has not made clear how collocability can be measured. Secondly, he has not explored further the relationship between collocation and colligation. As Palmer (1968:6) says, `Firth did not seem to have seen that the kind of formal grammatical analysis which he recommended is dependent upon the recognition of mutually collocable classes of lexical items. Grammar should have been for him as much dependent upon collocation as phonology is upon grammar'. Thirdly, Firth seems to have restricted his interest to collocations in which there is `mutual expectancy' between words and therefore Palmer is also justified in criticising him for `not extending his theory to comprehend the whole of the problems of lexical compatibility.'

The following discussion will examine how Firth's syntagmatic view of meaning is modified, extended or criticised by various linguistic positions. The aim of this examination is to look for

a richer concept of collocational meaning bearing in mind the `broad spectrum of word combinations in English´ as mentioned earlier.

1.3 The Lexical Position

While Firth was interested in items which mutually predict each other, his followers such as Halliday and Sinclair went further to emphasize the claim of an independent collocational level.

1.3.1 Lexis as an Independent Level

Indeed, in his 1966 seminal article `Lexis as a linguistic level´ Halliday explicitly argues for `a lexical theory that will be complementary to, but not part of grammatical theory.´ He suggests that lexis might be usefully thought of

(1) as within linguistic form, thus standing in the same relation to (lexical) semantics as does grammar to (grammatical) semantics and

(2) as not within grammar, lexical patterns thus being treated as different in kind, and not merely in delicacy, from grammatical patterns.

Halliday (1966:160) begins his argument by saying that words which have more or less the same meaning may not keep the same company. For example, *strong* has the same meaning as *powerful* in the following:

1 a *strong* argument

2 a *powerful* argument

But *strong* does not always stand in this same relation to *powerful*, e.g.

3 He drives a *powerful* car

4 *He drives a *strong* car

5 This tea is too *strong*

6 *This tea is too *powerful*

The asterisk [*] is a symbol used in this thesis to indicate ungrammaticality.

In the examples above, *Strong* in (4) and *powerful* in (6) will either be rejected as ungrammatical (or unlexical) or shown to be in some sort of marked contrast with *a powerful car* and *strong tea*; in either case the paradigmatic relation of *strong* to *powerful* is not a constant but depends on the syntagmatic relation into which each enters, here with *argument, car* or *tea* (Halliday 1966:150).

Moreover, as Halliday says, `a grammatical analysis of the above will be cumbersome´ because `one had to say first, *strong* and *powerful* are members of a class that enters into a certain structural relation with a class of which *argument* is a member; second, *powerful* (but not *strong*) is a member of a class entering into this relation with a class of which *car* is a member; and third, *strong* (but not *powerful)* is a member of a class entering into this relation with a class of which *tea* is a member (Halliday 1966:151).´

Furthermore, the same patterns do reappear and they involve different structures, e.g.

7 he *argued strongly*

8 I don´t deny the *strength* of his *argument*

9 his *argument* was *strengthened* by other factors

Given as such, the differences of class and structure are irrelevant to the above patterns. `Strong´, `strength´, `strengthen´, `strongly´ can all best be regarded as the same item having the same syntagmatic relation. Halliday (1966:151) therefore suggests the abstraction of an **item** *strong*, `having the **scatter** *strong, strongly, strength, strengthened*, which **collocates** with items a*rgue (argument)* and *tea*; and an **item** *power (powerful, powerfully)* which collocates with *argue* and *car*.´ Thus, the collocational potentials need only be stated once.

Halliday goes as far as to argue that a collocational fact may even be exhibited in a discourse without the elements of the collocation entering into a syntactic relationship at all (Halliday 1966:151) e.g.

10 I wasn't altogether convinced by his *argument*. He had some *strong* points but they could all be met.

Matthews, however, is not convinced by this argument. Referring to example (10) above, Matthews counter-argues, `But does this really fall in with the other cases of *strong* and *argument*? Thus one can also say: *I didn't altogether like his car. It had some strong points but...*(Mathews 1968:316).'

Likewise, Greenbaum (1970:11) points out from a technical perspective the difficulty in deciding upon the maximum distance between items that can be said to be collocating.

Nevertheless, Halliday is careful to point out that `this is not to say that there is no interrelation between structural and collocational patterns, as indeed there certainly is; but if, as it is suggested, their interdependence can be regarded as mutual rather than as one-way, it will be more clearly displayed by a form of statement which first shows grammatical and lexical restrictions separately and then brings them together (Halliday 1966:152).'

1.3.2 The Categories of Lexis

Having separated the level of lexis from that of grammar Halliday is able to explore the unique properties of lexical categories. Two fundamental categories in lexis have been suggested: `collocation´ and `set´. Halliday says, `Collocation, like structure [in grammar], accounted for a syntagmatic relation; set, like class and system [in grammar], for a paradigmatic one (Halliday 1961:276).´

One basic distinction between the categories of lexis and grammar is that while system in grammar is `deterministic´, the open-ended `set´ in lexis is `probabilistic´. Furthermore, the category `class´ which exists in grammar does not exist in lexis as the item is directly referable to the categories of collocation and set (Halliday 1966:153).

In addition, Halliday points out that items are not always co-extensive, on either the paradigmatic or the syntagmatic axis, e.g.

11 she made up her face

12 she made up her team

`made up´ in (11) and (12) are in `paradigmatic lexical contrast´ but they belong to `the same grammatical class´ (Halliday 1966:153).

Furthermore, in some cases, as Berry points out, it is impossible to equate the lexical item with any one grammatical unit. Being one of those linguists aiming at bringing Halliday's work closer to the general public, Berry tries to explain, `sometimes lexical items are coextensive with formal items belonging to the morpheme as in *spil(t)* and *read(er)*. Sometimes lexical items are coextensive with formal items belonging to the word, as in *soup* and *umbrella*. Sometimes lexical items are coextensive with formal items belonging to the group as in *cats and dogs*. Sometimes lexical items are coextensive with formal items belonging to even higher grammatical units. *Burn the candle at both ends*, for instance, could be regarded as a lexical item. It would be likely to have as its collocates lexical items such as *tired, unwise, nervous breakdown* and these would distinguish it from lexical items such as *burn, candle* and *end* used separately.' According to Berry, lexical items vary as to the rank of grammatical unit with which they are coextensive. They need not, in fact, be coextensive with any grammatical units (Berry 1977:60). As a matter of fact, Berry (1977:56) defines a lexical item as follows:

> `A lexical item is identified by its collocates; that is, one knows that a particular lexical item is a particular unique lexical item different from all other lexical items, because the list of items with which it can be collocated differs from the lists of items with which other items can be collocated. No two lexical items will have exactly the same list of possible collocates, though of course their lists may well have some items in common.

For example, *"cat", "dog"* and *"cats and dogs"* were three lexical items. The collocates of *cat* might include *purr, happy, wave, tail, angry etc.* The collocates of *dog* might include *tail, happy, angry, wag, growl* etc. The collocates of *cats and dogs* might include *wet, umbrella, rain* etc.'

As a matter of fact, Halliday believes that once the members of sets are established, the issues of polysemy and homonymy may be tackled. Two identical occurrences with different sets of collocates may be seen as homonyms e.g. *bank* collocates with *rivers/trees/steep,* etc., while *bank* collocates with *money/deposit/cheque,* etc.

However, what is most interesting is Halliday's perception of **the cline of predictability** on which idioms, cliches etc are identified. He says that these categories should be considered from the point of view of `formal relation', especially those of `lexis.' He remarks, `Cliches are "fixed collocations" of lexical items, which are of higher probability and without grammatical restriction while idioms are lexical items which were "tied to a particular grammatical structure" (Halliday 1960:20).'

As a matter of fact, the lexical position is best summarized by Butler (1985:133), `To summarize the approach taken in the 1960s, we may say that since statements about the patterning of individual items can be made without reference to the grammatical classes into which the items can be grouped or the grammatical structures into which they enter, and since we can abstract lexical items which are not necessarily co-extensive with

grammatical items, it seems best to regard grammar and lexis as two different kinds of linguistic patterning, working in parallel.'

1.3.3 Lexical Analysis

Referring to lexical analysis, Halliday says, `In a lexical analysis it is the lexical restriction which is under focus: the extent to which an item is specified by its collocational environment. This therefore takes into account the frequency of the item in a stated environment relative to its total frequency of occurrence.' Moreover, `it is the similarity of their collocational restriction which enables us to consider grouping lexical items into lexical sets (Halliday 1966:156).' How a lexical set can be established is demonstrated as follows:

> `..if for 2,000 occurrences of *sun* we list the three preceding and three following lexical items, the 12,000 occurrences of its collocates might show a distribution beginning with *bright, hot, shine, light, lie, come out* and ending with a large number of items each occurring only once. The same number of occurrences of *moon* might show *bright, full, new, light, night, shine* as the most frequent collocates...If we intersect these we get a set, whose members include *bright, shine* and *light,* with slightly greater generality i.e. *bright, shine* and *light* are being grouped together because they display a similar potentiality of occurrence, this being now defined as potentiality of occurrence in the environment of *sun* and in that of *moon* (Halliday 1966:158).'

Hence, as Butler (1985:7) has remarked, while Firth is concerned about habitual collocation and mutual prediction between items, Halliday has extended Firth's concept to cover `co-occurrence of any degree of strength'.

Whereas Halliday outlined a suggested approach to lexical analysis, Sinclair (1966) embarked on a corresponding method of analysis which subsequently culminated in the most detailed practical studies of collocation to date by Sinclair and his colleagues (Sinclair, Jones & Daley, 1969; Jones & Sinclair, 1974). These studies tackled a number of methodological problems concerning lexical analysis. For example, for practical reasons, Sinclair finally treated each orthographic word as a `poetential' lexical item. Regarding the problem of span, by pilot studies on a 50,000-word sample of text, Sinclair was able to determine that very few new collocates were picked up when the span was extended beyond four items on either side of the node. As for the distinction between significant and casual collocations, the problem was solved in the 1974 study on collocation by developing an `indicator of predictiveness', equal to the ratio of the number of collocations of the two items to the number of occurrences of the node being considered. The indicator will thus have a lower value for the high-frequency item (for instance, *the*) than for the low-frequency item (for instance, *cathode*) (Butler 1985:137).

From a recent contact with Professor Sinclair (1991), the researcher has been shown that whether a word is considered the `collocate' of the nodeword is determined according to the following procedure:

1 predict from the frequency of the nodeword in the corpus and the total size of the corpus the number of times the collocate would be expected to occur within a span of four words to the left or the right of the nodeword

2 find out the number of instances of the collocate that are actually observed to occur in the vicinity of the nodeword

3 the difference between (1) and (2) will give a statistical indication of whether the difference is a chance happening; the lower the score, the less likely it is that the difference between (1) and (2) is a chance happening.

For example, for the nodeword `make', the collocate `accountable' appears 78 times in a corpus of 18 million words of English. The predicted occurrence in the vicinity of the node is `0.500' and the actual occurrence is `7' and therefore the statistical indication of chance happening is `0.0001', which shows that `accountable' is one of the best collocates of `make'. In a nutshell, collocation is viewed **entirely as a statistical matter**.

In summary: By making a distinction between grammar and lexis, the `systemic linguists´ are able to show more clearly the unique properties of lexis. More importantly, the identification of lexical items by their collocates makes it possible for units larger than words to be considered as lexical items. Furthermore, the concept of different degrees of lexical restriction makes it possible for various kinds of lexical items including collocations, idioms, cliches, compounds etc. to be described on a cline of predicability.

However, it is doubtful whether it is necessary to claim the independence of lexis from grammar. The point is, though it is true that grammar cannot account for all the characteristics of lexis, it does not necessarily mean that all syntagmatic relations can be handled properly without any reference to grammar and/or other elements at all. This accordingly calls to question the lexical analysis based entirely on statistical means.

1.4 The Semantic Position

This section is intended to to look at how the generative grammarians attempt to handle the co-occurrence of words. The following will begin with the approach to meaning based on componential analysis.

1.4.1 Componential Analysis

When Chomsky first put foward his theory of generative grammar, grammar was considered autonomous and independent of semantics.

Katz and Fodor (1963), however, was of the opinion that in the interpretation of sentences, a distinction should be made between linguistic knowledge and beliefs about the world. As reported in Newmeyer (1986:66), to interpret the following two sentences properly,

Our store sells horse shoes

[shoes for horses]

Our store sells alligator shoes

[shoes made of alligator skin]

the speaker should have the ability to

1 determine the number and content of the readings of a sentence

2 detect semantic anomalies

3 decide on paraphrase relation between sentences

4 mark "every other semantic property that plays a role in this ability" (Katz and Fodor 1963:176).

Two components had been posited to characterize this ability. They are as follows:

1 The Dictionary

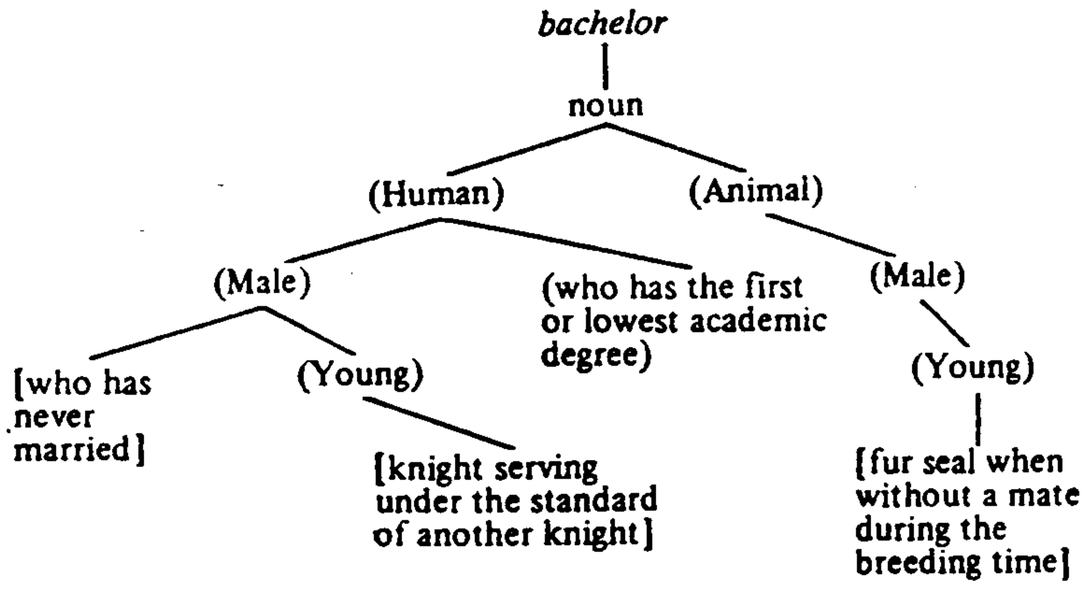
2 The Projection Rules

The dictionary contained, for each lexical item, a characterization of the role it plays in semantic interpretation and the projection rules determine how the structured combinations of lexical items assign a meaning to the sentence as a whole.

Newmeyer (1986:66) further explains, `The dictionary entry for each item consisted of a grammatical portion (grammatical markers) and a semantic portion containing semantic markers, distinguishers and selectional restrictions. The grammatical markers were simply the lexical categories to which the lexical item belonged. The semantic markers assigned to a lexical item the systematic relations holding between that item and the rest of the vocabulary of the language, while the distinghisher reflected purely idiosyncratic aspects of meaning.´

For example, the Katz-Fodor entry for the word `bachelor´ is shown as follows (Newmeyer 1986:67):

The Incorporation of Semantics into the Model



In the above diagram, the markers are in parentheses and the distinguishers in square brackets.

Thus, in the interpretation of the following sentence

The man hits the colorful ball

the projection rules combined the readings of `colourful´ and `ball´ to `colourful ball´ etc. and the selectional restriction served to limit the amalgamatory possibilities. `For example, the verb "hit" contains a selectional restriction limiting its occurrence to objects with the marker (Physical Object). The sentence [the man hits the colorful ball] would thus be interpreted as meaning "strikes the brightly colored round object", but not as having the anomalous reading "strikes the gala dance" since "dance" does not contain the marker (Physical Object) (Newmeyer 1986:67).´

The componential approach to meaning has been much criticised, which will be reported in due course.

1.4.2 Subcategorization Rules

Chomsky (1965), on the other hand, tended to handle the co-occurrence of words within syntax.

In brief, Katz and Fodor's proposal was subsequently clarified, extended and taken over by Chomsky (1965) in the construction of the Standard version of Chomskyan transformational generative grammar.

In brief, in the Aspects model, Chomsky abandoned generalized transformations and introduced the concepts of Deep Structure and Surface Structure. The deep structure in Aspects is defined by the application of 3 sets of rules:

(1) phrase structure rules

(2) subcategorization rules

(3) lexical insertion rules

The first two were collectively referred to as the `base rules' and regarding subcategorization rules, they include:

1 context-free subcategorization rules

2 strict subcategorization rules

3 selectional rules

Among these three rules, `strict subcategorization rules' subcategorized lexical categories in terms of the syntactic frames in which they occurred. That is, a verb occurring before a noun phrase would automatically be assigned the feature +[_NP], a noun after a determiner would take the feature +[DET_], and so on (Newmeyer 1986:76).

On the other hand, `selectional rules subcategorized verbs on the basis of the features of the nouns which they co-occurred. Thus a verb occurring after a subject noun with the feature [HUMAN] would be assigned the feature +[+HUMAN_]´(Newmeyer 1986:76).

Chomsky claims that lexical items are insertable into the base phrase marker if their syntactic features match those generated by the base rules. Thus, the Aspects approach treats selectional restriction as syntactic restrictions holding between lexical items. So, although Chomsky has argued that grammatical and lexical restrictions are different, he later tries to handle selectional restriction within a sentence as part of the grammar with the result that the sentence below would now be regarded as `ungrammatical´:

Colourless green ideas sleep furiously

Such being the case, as Palmer points out, Chomsky tends to deal with the following two groups of sentences in similar ways:

1 The idea cut the tree

2 I drank the bread

3 He frightened that he was coming

4 He elapsed the man

In all the above four examples, the items do not `fit' the verbs. Though it is obvious that (3) and (4) are clearly a matter of grammar and (1) and (2) a matter of the incompatibility of lexical items of certain nouns (as subjects or objects) with certain verbs, in both cases, Chomsky states as part of the specification of the verb, the environment in which it might occur.

`Thus "elapse" is shown as not occurring with an object noun phrase, and "frighten" not occurring with a following that-clause. Similarly "cut" will be shown to need a *concrete* subject, and "drink" a *liquid* object. This is achieved in terms of components, by stating that the relevant subject and object must have the components (concrete) and (liquid). These are SELECTIONAL RESTRICTIONS. Any sentence which does not comply to them is ruled out and the grammar will not generate it (Palmer 1976:100).´

On the other hand, the generative semanticists such as McCawley (1968), George Lakoff (1971) etc. view the semantic component of grammar as being the generative base from which syntactic structure can be derived. They do not see any need to separate grammar and lexis. Deep grammatical structure is the same thing as semantic structure and there is no need for a separate semantic component. In fact, the question whether selectional restriction is a semantic or syntactic matter emerged as a major controversy in the late 1960s and it is inappropriate to go into detail here.

In brief, among the transformational grammarians, some of them tend to handle the co-occurrence of words on the basis of grammar and some of them on that of semantics. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that linguists in this tradition are concerned about the co-occurrence of words in sentences, which is of particular relevance to the type of word combinations with the verb component.

1.5 Syntagmatic Presuppositions

This section looks at how the lexical positions and the positions of the transformational grammarians are criticized by the `structural semanticists´ such as Lyons and Palmer.

Referring to the transformational grammarians, Lyons (1977:413) points out, `..both Chomsky´s standard theory and the generative semantic theory (Lakoff 1971) had accepted a model of linguistic description which should not only generate the set of semantically well-formed sentences, but should also associate with each a semantic interpretation in terms of a universal inventory of sense-components.´ He remarks critically, `componential analysis was found to be defective both theoretically and empirically and was far less promising than methods of analysis based on the notion of meaning postulates.´ Similarly, Palmer criticises the fact that there is the problem of the limitless number of components.

With regard to Chomsky´s theory as mentioned above, Palmer is of the opinion that it fails to make a distinction between what is grammatical and what is lexical. In particular, it cannot account for cases in which such selectional restrictions are legitimately broken, e.g.

John thought we could drink bread

You can´t drink bread

Palmer concludes that `It is a mistake, then, to attempt to handle these essentially semantic relations between lexical items within the grammar of a language (though it is by no means certain that they can be handled in any complete and consistent way in ANY part of the linguistic analysis) (Palmer 1976:101).´

Palmer´s main argument can be summarized as follows: if the boundary between grammar and semantics is not a clear one, it is impossible to draw a clear line between grammatical and lexical restrictions as the latter is largely determined by semantics.

Referring to the lexical position, Lyons´ criticism is even more harsh. This is not entirely unexpected as Firth´s concept of meaning is somewhat unusual.

First of all, according to Lyons (1966), Firth´s theory of meaning is incapable of dealing with the classical problems of semantics such as reference, meaning-relations etc.

Secondly, Lyons does not consider the collocations of a word as part of its meaning though he admits that the meaning of a word can often be conveyed to someone who already has a partial knowledge of the language by listing a well-chosen set of collocations in which the word in question is used and that we do come to learn the meaning of many words by virtue of hearing them, or seeing them, in various verbal contexts (Lyons 1966:295).

Thirdly, Lyons is of the opinion that what is well worthy of study by the semanticists is `collocations of parts of particular items between which there holds a strong relation of unilateral, or bilateral, syntagmatic presupposition, which is distinct from, and in the case of unilateral presupposition frequently at variance with, syntactic dependency´ (1966:297).

Lyons agrees with Porzig that lexemes are syntagmatically connected with each other by means of `an essential meaning-relation.´ Lyons says, `One could hardly hope to explain the meaning of the verb "bark" without mentioning dogs or of "blond" without mentioning hair (Lyons 1977:261).´ It is quite clear from the examples that Lyons is interested in a more restricted kind of lexical collocability but, how strong the relation should be before it can be defined as `essential meaning-relation´ still remains unclear.

Lyons says that there is good reason to promote the study of collocations in both the synchronic and the diachronic analyses of language. He agrees with Porzig´s view that `all lexemes are

originally applied, phylogenetically and ontogenetically, in very specific and concrete situations and that they are correspondingly restricted syntagmatically.´ He is of the opinion that semantic change might proceed by way of `generalization´ and `abstraction´. Though most lexemes may still preserve their original meaning (as their nuclear or central meaning), they will come to be applied, in the course of time, to a wide range of things and in a wider range of situations i.e. metaphorical extension. For example, the German verb `reiten´ which was originally restricted to `riding on horseback´ can also be used to denote `sitting astride a beam´ (Lyons 1977:263).

Lyons, however, admits that it is hard to predict semantic change. Diachronic semantics suggests that both external and internal factors might be relevant. The former means `changes in the natural or cultural environment in a language´ and the latter means `structural pressures in the language-system, deriving from the totality of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in a particular lexical field, which might inhibit certain changes of meaning whilst promoting, or at least permitting, others´ (Lyons 1977:264).

Moreover, Lyons observes that semantic change might also proceed by means of the converse process of `specialization´. He says, `If a lexeme is frequently used in collocation with a restricted set of syntagmatically modifying lexemes or phrases, it may come to encapsulate their sense. ...The verb "drive" is still used of course, in a variety of other collocations where it

has a more general meaning; and it also has a number of other specialized meanings, which encapsulate the sense of other lexemes (e.g., He *drove off* might be said of a golfer striking the ball) and can be explained as having arisen as a result of its frequent collocation with these lexemes (Lyons 1977:288).'

Lyons therefore concludes, 'we must not go from the one extreme of saying that the collocations of a lexeme are determined by its meaning or meanings (where meaning is defined independently of syntagmatic considerations) to the other extreme of defining the meaning of a lexeme to be no more than the set of its collocations (Lyons 1977:265).' Moreover, he objects to the need for a 'collocational level'. He explains, 'there are many different factors which determine the acceptability or unacceptability of particular collocations: logical consistency, material motivation, social convention, and so on. And there are in any case many different points of view from which collocations may be studied other than from the point of view of the acceptability or unacceptability (Lyons 1966:297).'

Lyons also objects to the advisability of studying collocations by undertaking statistical analysis of the patterns of co-occurrence of lexical items by Halliday and Sinclair. Instead, he suggests, 'Rather than set up one structural level to handle the co-occurrence of particular lexical items, presumably on a statistical basis, it would seem preferable to distinguish these several factors and these various points of view, and to investigate them separately (Lyons 1966:297).'

Palmer, on the other hand, is more sympathetic to Firth´s view of meaning. He defends Firth by saying that `...For Firth this keeping company, which he called collocation was merely PART of the meaning of a word´ and `meaning was also to be found in the context of situation and all the other levels of analysis as well.´ `Moreover, he was concerned not with total distribution, but with the more obvious and more interesting co-occurrences, the "mutual expectancy of words" (Palmer 1976:91,94).´

Indeed, Palmer (1976) has a succinct discussion on collocation. According to him, collocation is of interest to semantics for two reasons.

Firstly, `by looking at the linguistic contexts of words we can often distinguish between different meanings.´ Palmer quotes Nida´s discussion on the use of *chair* for demonstration (Palmer 1976:95):

1 sat in a chair

2 the baby´s high chair

3 the chair of philosophy

4 has accepted a University chair

5 the chairman of the meeting

6 will chair the meeting

7 the electric chair

8 condemned to the chair

The four pair of sentences above provide four different meanings of the word *chair*. However, Palmer emphasizes that this does not so much establish, as `illustrate´, differences of meaning.

Secondly, Palmer admits that `although in general the distribution of words may seem to be determined by their meaning in some cases, this is not entirely true.´ The examples he gives are `rancid bacon/butter´, `flock of sheep´, `herd of cows´ etc. Moreover, he observes that `words may have more specific meanings in particular collocations.´ For instance, `it is acceptable to speak of "abnormal or exceptional weather" but "an exceptional child" is certainly not "an abnormal child" (Palmer 1976:95).

Palmer is careful to warn that `it would be a mistake to attempt to draw a clear distinguishing line between those collocations that are predictable from the meanings of the words that co-occur and those that are not (though some linguists·have wished to restrict the term collocation to the latter.)´ He explains, `There have been some extensive investigations of collocation within texts and the results suggest that the co-occurrences are determined both by the meaning of the individual words and (though to a much less extent) by conventions about "the company they keep" (Palmer 1976:96).´

Palmer (1976:97) therefore classifies collocational restrictions into the following categories:

1. Those based wholly on the meaning of the item as in the unlikely `green cow.´

2. Those based on range--a word might be used with a whole set of words that had some semantic features in common.

3. Those which are the strictest collocations, involving neither meaning nor range, as `addled´ with `eggs´ and `brains´.

With regard to (2) above, Palmer has drawn heavily on McIntosh (1961). It may be worthwhile at this point to go into McIntosh´s concept of range in greater detail.

1.6 Collocational Range

As a matter of fact, the term `range´ was introduced by McIntosh (1961) to support Halliday´s claim for an independent level of lexis . A parallel is drawn between `pattern´ in grammar and `range´ in lexis. Whereas pattern is associated with the structures of the sentence, `range´ is connected with the specific collocations that may exist in a series of particular instances.

McIntosh points out that every lexical item has an individual `range of collcability´. The sentence

The molten postage feather scored a weather

is unacceptable not only on the grounds of grammatical pattern but due to `departures from tolerated ranges of collocability.´ McIntosh observes, `Words have only a certain tolerance of compatibility, only a certain POTENTIAL OF COLLOCABILITY, quite apart from any considerations of pattern in the grammatical sense.´

McIntosh explains, `there is ...a range, however laborious it may be to define or describe, which is represented by the fairly strictly limited inventory of nouns which may without any question be qualified by the word *molten*. The set of alternative available possibilities which this inventory consists is just as much a part of the form of the language as is a grammatical system, and a full account of this set goes a long way towards constituting the meaning of *molten* (McIntosh 1961:327).´

In this way, McIntosh echoes Firth´s claim that the company a word keeps constitutes its meaning. In addition, McIntosh says, `.. this meaning itself rests (though it will of course depend on other collocational relationships as well) to a considerable extent on a certain similarity of meaning of all the nouns in question.´ `Therefore if an attempt is made to collocate *molten* with a noun of a quite different "family", (that is, one with a very different set of collocational habits) such as *feather*, the only experience we can fall back on to deal with it is experience of that aspect of linguistic form which in one way or another has to do with the phenomenon of range (McIntosh 1961:330).´

This implies that a collocational relation may be determined by the collocational range of both components in for example a two word combination. This consequently accounts for the unlikeliness of

The rhododendron passed away (McIntosh 1961:335)

As Palmer remarks, `It is not very plausible to say that *pass away* indicated a special kind of dying that is not characteristic of shrubs. It is rather that there is a restriction on its use with a group of words that are semantically related i.e. range.´

Thus, the concept of `the test of collocability´ which was first introduced by Firth but had not been elaborated is hence to a certain extent accounted for by McIntosh.

In summary: The above discussion has looked at collocation from the structural semanticists´ positions. While Lyons refuses to recognize an independent lexical level and the concept of meaning by collocation, Palmer does not seem to share his view without some reservation. This is demonstrated by his discussion on `range´, a term which has been introduced by McIntosh to explain Halliday´s concept of the collocability restriction between words. Nevertheless, it is apparent that both Lyons and Palmer emphasize the importance of the meaning of the word in the determination of the company it keeps.

Moreover, Lyon´s discussion on semantic change is of direct relevance to the combinations of words. For example, the process of `generalization´ is related to combinations with figurative meanings and the process of `specialization´ is related to the combinations which are `restricted´ collocations. Moreover, it is justifiable of Lyons to point out that collocation is not only a statistical matter and that there are complicated causes of collocation as well. Furthermore, by stressing the complicated factors other than the lexical one, Lyons has thrown much light on the study of syntagmatic relations and, it may not be an exaggeration to say that linguists after him who have discussed the semantic aspect or the social cultural aspect of collocation are influenced or inspired by him in one way or another. However, it seems that Lyons is only concerned about the most restricted kind of collocations. In this respect, he is like Firth, who is only interested in items which mutually predict each other.

1.7 Integrated Approaches

The discussion of the various linguistic positions so far has revealed quite clearly that the syntagmatic view of meaning or the company a word keeps is related to factors concerning not only habitual usage and frequency but also syntax, semantics etc. The following will look at some integrated approaches to collocations, particularly the works of Mitchell and Greenbaum. Roughly, the former puts more stress on the lexical-grammatical aspect of the co-occurrence of words and the latter more on the semantic-grammatical aspect.

1.7.1 Lexical-Grammatical Relations

Mitchell objects to a pure lexical approach to collocation. He says, `Firth..appropriately thought of collocation as primarily lexical, as a means of restricting the *vagrancy of words* and of providing *stylistic* delineation of his *restricted languages*. [However] The lexical emphasis has been taken further by the neo-Firthians such as Halliday and Sinclair to the point of regarding collocational study as independent of grammar...but Firth himself seemed to have no opinions in this matter (Mitchell 1971:36).'

According to Mitchell, the formal value of an item indeed depends on:

1 other items present in the text and the constraints and dependencies observable between them i.e. intra-textual dependence

2 the transformability of the text in terms of the analytical operations of substitution, expansion or contraction as the case may be, interpolation, and transposition i.e. inter-textual dependence

Intra-textual dependence follows as a result of inter-textual dependence. For example, in the following sentences (Mitchell 1971:42):

1 the milk has gone off (expansion)

2 the milk has gone (contraction)

3 John has gone off (substitution)

the presence of *off* in (1) marks a different *gone* from that in (2) while the presence of *John* in place of *the milk d*etermines a different *off* in (3).

Mitchell criticises the attempt to separate, on the one hand, lexicon and grammar, except in terms of generality, and, on the other, ultimately lexico-grammatical analysis and meaning for its `arbitrariness and artificiality´ (Mitchell 1971:45). As a matter of fact, Mitchell (1971:43,44,45&46) demonstrates in a very convincing way the important role of grammar in linguistic analysis with a huge number of examples based on the collocations and idioms of **off**. The following are just a few of those examples. In `Noun + *tore down the poster´*, the italicized part is ambiguous as shown in 4 and 5 below:

4 John tore down the poster

[= ripped the poster violently from the surface to which it adhered]

5 The centipede tore down the poster

[=rushed headlong down the poster]

Mitchell notes that the first noun in the above two sentences not only disambiguates *tore*, it also 'determines' the type of relationship between verb and particle i.e. the prepositional or adverbial classification of *down*.

In addition, the second noun is also relevant to the interpretation of both *tore* and *down* severally and conjointly,

6 John tore down *the poster*

7 John tore down *the road*

Mitchell (1971:44) says, 'The conjunction of the first noun and the second noun, taken as a discontinuous whole, permits or not the inclusion of post-verbal aspectival particles, notable *'off'* and *'on'*. When the second noun =*road*, then concomitantly the first noun = e.g. *man* and ≠ e.g. *centipede* for *'off'* to be admissible; contrariwise, *'off'* is inadmissible where the first noun = *man* and the second noun = *poster*,':

8 The man tore off down the *road*

*9 The centipede tore off down the *road*

*10 The man tore off down the *poster*

Mitchell (1971:48) therefore goes on to stress the importance of the 'interdependence' of grammar and lexicon, 'Lexical particularies are considered to derive their formal meaning not only from contextual extension of a lexical kind but also from the generalised grammatical patterns within which they appear,

and, conversely, the recognition of general patterns is seen as justifiable only in response to selected comparisions of lexical combinations.'

That is to say, for language to have meaning, both lexis and grammar should be considered at the same time.

Referring to collocations, Mitchell defines a collocation as `an abstract composite element' which could `exhibit its own distribution qua compositum.'...Distribution is to be seen in both lexical and grammatical terms and that collocations are recognizable by their own extended `distributional privileges of occurrence (Mitchell 1971:50)': e.g.

11 work *in* cement work

12 work *on* works of art

13 *perform* good works

14 *build* cement works

15 *produce* works of art

Mitchell (1971:65) summarizes his view of collocation as follows: `collocations are to be studied within grammatical matrices and that the latter in turn depend for their recognition on the observation of collocational similarities, including similarities of difference.' Like Lyons, Mitchell opposes to the idea of collocations as being determinable statistically,

especially by the statistical procedures in lexical analysis proposed by Sinclair in particular. The following will look at another `integrated´ approach to collocation.

1.7.2 Semantic-Grammatical Relations

Similarly, Greenbaum(1970) criticises Halliday and Sinclair´s approach to collocation as an `item-orientated´ approach which is based exclusively on the linear co-occurrence of items and does not include the syntactic and semantic statements that are often essential in the treatment of collocations.

One of the problems of such an approach is that it obscures syntactic restrictions on collocations. In the following examples (Greenbaum 1970:11):

I don´t *like* him *much.*

*I *like* him *much.*

`*much* collocates with a preceding verb *like* in negative sentences but not in affirmative sentences.´ However, he points out that the second sentence becomes perfectly acceptable if *much* is premodified,

	very	
I *like him*	*too*	*much.*
	so	

Moreover, `positional restrictions´ also apply,

Some people *much prefer* wine.

This sentence is acceptable even though it is in the affirmative. Yet *much* and *prefer* do not collocate if the intensifier is transposed to the end of the sentence:

*Some people *prefer* wine *much*.

Another problem is that a purely item-orientated investigation which excludes semantic analysis would encounter the problem of homonyms. `For example, *badly* which collocates with *need* and *badly* which collocates with *treat* are two different lexical items, the first an intensifier and the second a manner adjunct,' says Greenbaum.

He continues, `It is true that the two verbs collocate with overlapping but different ranges of nouns functioning as Direct Object. If therefore there is an adequate technique for the purpose it would be possible to show that only the intensifier *badly* collocates with *need* by establishing that there is a frequent collocation of *badly* with (for example) "money" and "drink" and that these nouns in turn collocate frequently with *need* but not with *treat* (Greenbaum 1971:12).'

However, Greenbaum is of the opinion that this procedure seems a roundabout way of establishing the frequency of the primary collocation, the intensifier *badly* and *need*, even if we

assume the existence of the necessary computational technique. In fact, Greenbaum points out that there are sentences in which both the intensifier *badly* and the manner adjunct *badly* may enter,

He *needed* his friends *badly*

He *treated* his friends *badly*

`Such instances intensify the problem of assigning the collocations to one or other of the items *badly* (Greenbaum 1970:13).´ Here Greenbaum is actually questioning the validity of using the idea of collocates to define lexical meaning.

Instead, Greenbaum is in favour of an `integrated approach´ in which `collocations are studied with respect to the syntactic relationship between the collocating items and to the meaning of the items´ (Greenbaum 1970:10).

Like Lyons, Greenbaum is of the opinion that the knowledge of the collocation of a language is part of the speakers´ linguistic competence. He says, `We know that items are collocated just as we know that one sequence of items is part of our language and another is not.´ However, while Lyons restricts his interest to the `syntagmatic presuppositions´, Greenbaum recognizes that collocation is a matter of degree. In this respect, his is similar to Halliday.

Indeed, Greenbaum (1970) made use of `informant experiments´ to elicit data on collocations. Briefly, Greenbaum (1970) investigated the collocability of a number of `intensifiers´ such

as *really, much* etc. with a following verb. The aim was to arrive at a semantic classification of verbs which might lead to a more refined grammatical description of permissible collocations, presumably, within the framework of a generative grammar.

As for the result of the research, Greenbaum (1974:83) reports, `The results indicated that there were sometimes strong collocational links between a given intensifier and a spceific verb. The most spectacular example was *entirely* with *agree*: the opening "*I entirely*" evoked the verb "*agree*" in 89 informants (*82%).´ Another interesting example reported by Greenbaum was that 65% of the subjects completed the cue `badly´ with `I badly need to´ and 28% `I badly want to´. Greenbaum observes, `for some intensifiers it was possible to group the verbs in a few semantically homogeneous classes and to find some semantic features common to all or most of the verbs.´

Greenbaum subsequently repeated several of the same completion tests using undergraduates at an American university as informants and he came to the following conclusion, `in general American and British English agree on the most frequent collocates with the six preverb intensiifers that have been investigated.´ However, `one major difference emerged in the case of "*entirely*". Whereas for the British informants, "*entirely*" collocated predominantly with verbs of agreeing and disagreeing, for the American informants it had a greater collocational range, including a sizable proportion of

expressions of failure. But even for the American informants such expressions appeared almost twice as often with *completely* as with *entirely* (Greenbaum 1974:88).'

Greenbaum's findings indicate that the collocation of words may be different even in different varieties of English.

It might be meaningful to quote Greenbaum's concluding remark concerning collocational restrictions and collocational frequencies as follows: `Neither semantic rules nor syntactic rules nor a combination of these seem capable of handling the restrictions on collocation, let alone the frequencies of collocation. It would appear that this information is best stored in the lexicon (Greenbaum 1970:87).'

In summary, though Mitchell is more lexically oriented and Greenbaum more semantically oriented, an examination of their works above apparently points to the need to consider the role of syntax, lexis and semantics in collocations or combinations of words. That is to say, any attempt to look at the syntagmatic relations between words purely from any particular aspect is bound to be inadequate and inappropriate.

As a matter of fact, linguists who took the lexical position such as Halliday and Sinclair have somewhat modified their positions. As Butler (1985:134) summarizes, `In the 1970s, there was a shift in the centre of gravity of the model from form to semantics, so that in Halliday's recent formulations the core of the linguistic potential is the complex interlocking set of

options represented as semantic systems. Within such a model, the concept of lexis as most delicate grammar takes on a new relevance, since both grammar and lexis can now be seen as realizing semantic choice.'

Likewise, Sinclair (1984) discusses the interpendence not only between lexis and grammar but also between lexis and semantics. Sinclair (1986) proposes to widen the domain of syntax to include lexical structure as well and in `Collocation: a progress report' (1987), Sinclair explicitly claims the interaction between collocation and semantics, `Early predictions of lexical structure were suitably cautious; there was no reason to believe that the patterns of lexis should map on to semantic structure. For one thing, lexis was syntagmatic and semantic was pragmatic; for another, lexis was limited to evidence of physical co-occurrence where semantics was intuitive and associative. The early results given here are characteristic of present evidence; there is a great deal of overlap with semantics, and very little reason to posit an independent semantics for the purpose of text description (Sinclair 1987:331).'

1.8 Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter begins with a description of the syntagmatic view of meaning i.e. meaning by collocation which, it is assumed, is related to the broad spectrum of combinations of words in the language. Then the syntagmatic relations between words have been looked at from the perspectives of the neo-Firthians, the transformational grammarians and the structural semanticists.

What can be concluded from the arguments and counter-arguments among these different linguistic positions is that it is inadequate to handle syntagmatic relations by lexical restriction, semantic features, syntactic rules or the meaning of words alone. The discussions on the `integrated´ approaches to the co-occurrence of words and the modification in the positions of some of the `systemic´ linguists have reinforced the need to take into consideration the role of syntax, lexis semantics and other linguistic or non-linguistic factors in the consideration of word combinations.

Regarding the combinations of words themselves, different linguists tend to have different concerns. For example, Firth is interested in those combinations in which the words `mutually predict´ each other e.g. `dark night´ and Lyons is keen on combinations based on `meaning-relation´ e.g `blond hair´. The transformational grammarians, on the other hand, are more concerned about the co-occurrence of words in sentences e.g. the semantic relation between the Verb, the Subject and/or the Object. However, it should be said that all these concerns are relevant to the broad spectrum of word combinations in the language. In fact they demonstrate another fact i.e. a combination of words may be made up of units that are sentences e.g. `Dogs bark´ or units that are not e.g. `dark night.´

From a pedagogic perspective, Firth´s concept of meaning by collocation has significant implications for teaching basically because he is concerned with language use. Firth (1957:179) takes Wittgenstein´s position that `the meaning of words lies in their

use'. There are `customs' and `rules' according to which words are used. That is to say, words and the company they keep reflect the habitual way the language is used. Thus, Firth suggests, `You should know a word by the company it keeps!' This syntagmatic view of meaning implies the need to learn not only single-word lexical items but also the combinations a word enters into.

On the other hand, the investigation into collocational studies has revealed that the speaker of a language knows whether a combination of word is acceptable or not by intuition. This is shown very clearly by the methods employed in collocational studies including both the `item approach' and the `integrated approach'. Although these two approaches appear to be very different, with the former concentrating on frequency count and the latter depending on informant testing, in actual fact, it may be said that both methods are different means to the same end i.e. to capture the intuition of the native speakers. The former does it through statistical means and the latter psychological means. This also explains why both approaches consider lexical restriction as a matter of degree and collocation on `a cline of acceptability'.

Such being the case, the difficulty of the L2 learner is that the intuition they have for collocations in their L1 may not be too useful in the learning of the L2. As Mackin (1978) puts it, `It is the native speaker's experience of his own language that tells him that "weak tea" is a normal collocation and that "feeble tea" is not;...Unfortunately for the foreign learner of English, there is no way in which he can be led to "construct"

the collocation "weak tea" rather than "feeble tea".' As a matter of fact, it is the use of words in `inappropriate´ company that accounts for the sense of `unEnglishness´ in their use of the language.

Moreover, as the `collocational range´ of words with the same lexical meaning in both the L1 and the L2 may vary considerably and as grammar is `deterministic´ and lexis is `probabilistic´, this may explain one of the reasons why most second/foreign language learners who have already mastered the grammatical patterns of the target language are still found to produce expressions generally regarded as `un-English.´ The point is, it is easier to learn grammatical rules which are by nature deterministic and more generalizable.

Regarding the various degrees of restriction between words, this implies that words tend to keep company with some words more frequently than the others. Whether teaching should focus only on the most frequent company a word keeps is a question the teacher has to address. However, what is certain from the foregoing discussion in this chapter is that in most cases concerning the teaching of collocations or combinations of words, not only habitual usage but also syntax and semantics are inextricably involved. The implication is that it will be very useful to be aware of the fact that in learning a word and the company it keeps, the grammatical patterns the word enters into, the meaning of the word and the meaning of the company it keeps

are of equal importance. It is through this kind of awareness that the learners may come to a deeper understanding of the L2 vocabulary.

Since word combinations cannot be handled adequately by lexis alone, the next chapter is an attempt to consider these units of the vocabulary within a framework based on an `idiomatic view of language.´

Chapter 2 An Idiomatic View of Language

2.1 Introduction

The investigation into syntagmatic relations in the last chapter has shown that it is inadequate to treat syntagmatic relations from a purely lexical perspective as syntagmatic relations may involve the interplay of lexis, syntax, semantics and many other factors. This chapter is intended to look at syntagmatic units in relation to an idiomatic view of language which is based on the assumption that the human brain has a huge memory capacity but is severely limited in processing speed. The first part of this chapter will focus on the linguistic aspect of this idiomatic view of language and the second part thereof will concentrate on the psycholinguistic aspect.

2.2 Prefabs of the Language

In his article `Meaning and Memory´ (1976), Bolinger suggests an idiomatic view of language and argues that language is a structure which can be described not just as `homogeneous´ and `tightly organized´, but in certain of its aspects as `heterogeneous´ but tightly organized.

Bolinger (1976:1) observes, `Our language does not expect us to build everything starting with lumber, nails, and blueprint, but provides us with an incredibly large number of prefabs.´ For Bolinger, `the units of lexicon - words, idioms, collocations - are the prefabs of language (Bolinger 1975:107).´ This view of

language is in sharp contrast to the one which analyses syntax and phonology into determinate rules, words into determinate morphemes, and meanings into determinate features.

According to Bolinger, language is generally assumed to be a `layercake´, with syntax on top of morphology and morphology on top of phonology and these three layers have been regarded as fairly distinct. Bolinger (1976:2) says, `the separation between morphology and syntax is seen as quite sharp, with bound forms on one side of the line and free forms on the other.´

Bolinger objects to this view of language because he observes that `speakers do at least as much remembering as they do putting together, and a great deal of what we have been regarding as syntactic will have to be put down as morphological.´ Bolinger´s view of language is best summed up hereunder:

> `The picture that emerges is a vast continuum between morphology and syntax, with perhaps a slight crease where the two domains come together but nothing like the abrupt edge that we are accustomed to putting there. The relationships between form and meaning become identical from the top to the bottom of the scale, the only real difference being that structure gets more rigid the closer you are to the bottom - as if solidified by pressure from above (Bolinger 1976:2).´

Bolinger is critical of the fact that while it is appreciated that words are comparatively rigid in the way they condition morphemes, it has not been recognized widely that sentences can also be rigid in the way they condition words. More importantly, this phenomenon is a pervasive one.

Indeed, Bolinger (1976) demonstrates with linguistic data the overlap of morphology and syntax. On the one hand he shows the extension of syntax into morphology and, on the other hand, the extension of morphology into syntax. For example, the word *ago* demonstrates very well the degree of syntacticity:

Firstly, it is always suffixed, e.g.

a year ago

* an ago year

and it is not used independently, e.g.

*He got there ago

Secondly, it is always suffixed to expressions of a particular kind i.e. those referring to `time'. In this respect it differs from its synonym *back*, e.g.

ten years back

ten miles back

ten years ago

*ten miles ago

Thirdly, it is unstressed, e.g.

It happened a year ´back

It happened a ´year ago

Fourthly, it is context-restricted. With definite temporal quantities there is almost complete freedom but the indefinites carry some peculiar restrictions, e.g.

a long time ago

a short time ago

but

long ago

*short ago

As for *much* and *little*, they are barred completely, even with the word *time* added

*much ago

*much time ago

*little time ago

Bolinger (1976:384) explains, `The restriction is not because *much* and *little* refer to quantity whereas *long* refers to extent, because *long* cannot be replaced by other adjectives of extent

either: *a long time ago* but not **an extended time ago*. With indefinite plurals, *centuries ago* is all right but ?*decades ago* and ?*eons ago* are doubtful and **millennia ago* I think is impossible.'

Bolinger remarks, `So *ago* behaves in all important respects like an unusually productive affix. The only real difference I can detect is the word's high degree of semantic integrity. *Ago* stays the same in meaning. Few if any lexical suffixes in English do that (Bolinger 1976:3&4).'

Moreover, Bolinger is of the contention that `we do not generate **an extended time ago* though we generate *a lifetime ago*, and we do not generate **sometime else* though we generate *somewhere else* not because the generative mechanism is lacking.' He suggests, `**at least in part we do not do it because we have not heard it done. We have no memory of it** (Bolinger 1976:4).'

On the other hand, Bolinger demonstrates how morphologicity or idiomaticity extends into syntax. He uses idioms as an example. Bolinger (1975:102) defines idiom as `group of words with set meanings that cannot be calculated by adding up the separate meanings of the parts'. However, even idioms have different degrees of cohesiveness. Some idioms are `virtually unchangeable', e.g.

Hold your horses [=Don't be so impetuous]

Others allow a limited amount of manipulation e.g

He´s dead to the world [=He´s fast asleep]

She´s dead to the world

They were dead to the world

Some idioms allow certain transformations but not others. For example, the following idiom can be made passive:

He found fault with them

Fault was found with them

but the noun in the idiom cannot be turned into a pronoun e.g.

* He found it with me

However, the use of pronouns in some idioms is acceptable,

He sought help from them

He didn´t seek it from me

What did he seek from you?

Bolinger describes these differences as `degrees of tightness´ (Bolinger 1975:101). For example, the following three idioms stand `in order of increasing tightness´:

to take fright

to take courage

to take heart

This can be seen when the normal word order is reversed,

The fright that he took was indicative of his timidity.

?The courage that he took was indicative of his inner resources

*The heart that he took was indicative of his optimism.

The various degrees of cohesion in idiomatic expressions make Bolinger question the basic nature of the language:

> `Idioms which are very tight have a lexical status close to that of individual words. As they loosen up, they gradually fade into the background of phrases that can be generated by rules. So the question arises whether even those expressions that we take to be freely generatable may be infected with the idiomatic virus. How free are they anyway? (Bolinger 1976:5)´

As Bolinger observes, prefabrications such as `**cliches**´ e.g. *hot as hell, sharp as a razor, beaten to a pulp, drenched to the skin, flurry of snow, sprinkle of rain* or `**trite**´ e.g. *inclement weather, signal honor, patently absurd, to cherish a hope* etc are so close to idioms that `the two categories merge imperceptibly´ (Bolinger 1976:5).

On the other hand, some `**collocations**´, which are `looser groupings´ are `indistinguishable from freely generated phrases.´ Bolinger uses the verb `hurt´ to demonstrate how specialized meanings become attached to perfectly ordinary

combinations. For example, the following sentences imply that somebody has been hurt physically, or in her career, or in some other material way:

They´ve hurt her

They´ve hurt her badly

With a stronger intensifier such as `cruelly´ or `terribly´, the following sentences imply that somebody´s feeling is hurt:

They´ve hurt her terribly/cruelly

As Bolinger remarks, `a touch of exaggeration pushes *hurt* out of things and into sentiments. But the same is not true of other verbs´ e.g.

They´ve *wounded* her terribly

The above could either be physical or moral. Bolinger once again asks, `**here of course is where we must ask, if such things can be, may there not be some degree of unfreedom in every syntactic combination that is not random ?** (Bolinger 1976:7)´

The above discussion implies that if criteria are set up to determine what elements belong on which side of the line between syntax and morphology, a wide middle ground will probably manifest itself. Moreover, the use of these prefabs of the language indicates the essential role of memory and language or meaning. As Bolinger says, `However we may have learned the

expression, *to hurt terribly* is in the language, stored as a unit. It might even be that we regenerate a phrase like this every time we use it, but its having been used before is a spur to its regeneration, from some trace in our minds. (Bolinger 1976:7).' The issue of prefabs and memory will be discussed in greater detail later.

In summary: The idiomatic view of language is based on the observation that there is a `vast continuum between syntax and morphology' and, along this continuum are `prefabs' of various types such as free combinations, collocations, cliches, idioms etc. All these, in addition to exhibiting unique properties of their own, process varying degrees of internal cohesion. And, it is their relative cohesiveness that distinguishes them. Another very obvious point in Bolinger's argument is that in speech we do not always `generate' new sentences but rather we use `prefabs' which have been used recurrently by others and accordingly stored in our memory.

It should be pointed out that there is some similarity between Bolinger's concept of `degree of cohesion' in the structure of the language and Halliday's observation of degree of collocability restriction among the various lexical categories (Section 1.3.2). However, the investigation into the linguistic properties of syntagmatic relations has demonstrated quite clearly that it is inadequate to handle restriction between words by a lexical theory which insists on the separation between syntax and morphology. On the contrary, Bolinger objects to a clear-cut division between syntax and morphology and stresses the

interdependence between these two elements instead. This idiomatic or holistic view of language can provide a more adequate framework for the description of the prefabs of the language as it takes into consideration not only lexical restriction between words but the cohesive structure of the language as a whole and it is along the syntax-morphology continuum that units of various degrees of structural cohesion are identified.

2.3 Further Linguistic Evidence

This section will consider linguistic evidence from other sources in support of the idiomatic or holistic view of language prior to the examination of psycholinguistic evidence.

2.3.1 Ready-Made Utterances and Schemata

In the discussion of the sentence, Lyons (1968) points out a category of utterances the description of which does not involve the application of the rules established to account for the vast mass of more `normal´ utterances. Following Saussure, he calls them `ready-made utterances´. Lyons says that expressions such as *How do you do?* and *Rest in peace* (as in a tombstone inscription) is neither a genuine question nor an instruction or suggestion. They are `situationally-bound expressions which are unanalysable with reference to the grammatical structure of contemporary English´. Lyons is of the opinion that these utterances are `learned as unanalysable wholes and employed on particular occasions by native speakers´. Further examples are

`proverbs´ which have been passed on from one generation to the next e.g. *Easy come easy go, All that glisters is not gold* (Lyons 1968:177).

Besides these `ready-made utterances´ which permit no extension or variation, there is another kind of utterances which are `grammatically unstructured, or only partially structured, but which can yet be combined in sentences according to productive rules e.g. What´s the use of -ing?, Down with-!, for -´s sake.´ Lyons refers to them as `schemata´ and further remarks, `An indefinitely large number of sentences can be generated from them by "filling" the vacant "slot" in the schema which is a member of the appropriate grammatical class (Lyons 1968:178).´ Similarly, Krashen and Scarcella (1978) describe these half fixed expressions as `semi-fixed pattern.´

2.3.2 Institutionalized Clauses and the Phrasal Lexicon

On the other hand, Becker (1975) who examines text from the perspective of natural language processing observes that `utterances are formed by repetition, modification, and concatenation of previously-known phrases consisting of more than one word.´ He is of the opinion that `we speak mostly by stitching together swatches of text that we have heard before´ and he sees the productive processes as having `the secondary role of adapting the old phrases to the new situation.´

According to Becker, it is this view of language that has the potential to account for the observed linguistic behavior of native speakers. Becker (1975:70) says, `In particular, this view allows us to concede that most utterances are produced in stereotyped social situations where the communicative and ritualistic functions of language demand not novelty, but rather an appropriate combination of formulas, cliches, idioms, allusions, slogans, and so forth.´

Hereunder are some of the examples of the lexical phrases from Becker´s own article for illustration:

concentrate (one´s) attention on

to give (a person) the low-down

inextricably bound to

to work (something) into a conversation

it is time that

to start over

this is not to say that

conspiracy of silence

if need be

out of context

The examples above show that the `lexical phrases´ are of various grammatical structures and the meanings of these structures may be transparent or opaque.

2.3.3 The Idiom Principle

Similarly, Sinclair, who is also interested in textual evidence, puts forward the `idiom principle´ to describe the pervasiveness of prefabs in the language.

Sinclair is of the contention that in order to explain the way in which meaning arises from language text, two different principles of interpretation have to be advanced: the `open choice principle´ and the `idiom principle.´ The former is a `segmental approach´ to language description and all grammars are constructed on it. Referring to the latter, Sinclair says, `The principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments (Sinclair 1987:320).´

Sinclair suggests that prefabs such as idioms, proverbs, cliches, technical terms, jargon expressions, phrasal verbs and the like should be handled by the `idiom principle.´ Moreover, like Bolinger and Cowie, he is of the opinion that the principle of idiom is far more pervasive and elusive than allowed. It has been noted by many writers on language but its importance has been largely neglected. He lists the following examples (Sinclair 1987:321):

1 phrases with an indeterminate extent

e.g set eyes on

2 phrases which allow internal lexical variation

e.g set X on fire or set fire to X

3 phrases which allow syntactic variation

e.g. it's not in his nature to

hardly her

scarcely

4 phrases which allow some variation in word order

e.g. to recriminate is not in his nature

it is not in the nature of an academic to..

5 many uses of words and phrases attract other words in strong collocation

collocation

e.g hard work, hard luck, hard facts, hard evidence

6 many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to co-occur with certain grammatical choices, e.g. `set about':

set about leaving verb+ing form

set about testing it transitive

7 many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment, e.g. `set about' is distinguished by an environment of *trying or attempting, suggesting that there is a problem to be solved.*

From the examples above, it seems that Sinclair uses the term 'phrases' to include various kinds of idiomatic expressions as well as lexical and grammatical collocations.

Sinclair also supports his argument with lexicographic evidence. For example, in the course of the Cobuild project at the University of Birmingham to study lexicography based on analysing long texts, one of his observation is that there is a broad general tendency for frequent words to have less of an independent meaning than less frequent words e.g. *take* in *take a look at us.* As a result, *take a look* becomes 'a single choice.'

Sinclair says, 'The tendency can be seen as a progressive delexicalisation.' He adds, 'This dependency of meaning correlates with the operation of the idiom principle to make fewer and larger choices (Sinclair 1987:323).'

Anyway, the point Sinclair wants to make is obviously that language has both a creative and a more idiomatic aspect which has become such a dominant feature in language use that it should not be ignored, or it should have the same status as grammar. Moreover, these 'idiomatic phrases' of the language are used as wholes by the speakers.

2.3.4 A Scale of Idiomaticity

Correspondingly, Cowie's discussion on the issue of idiomaticity echoes the need to see various degrees of cohesion in the structure of the language.

As mentioned in Chapter One, in the compilation of the Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (Cowie et al 1975), it has been found that `thousands of multi-word units are quite stable in form across much of their range of occurrence, while thousands of others tolerate only minor variations, which are themselves regular and predictable by native informants (Mackin 1978).´

More interestingly, the authors of the aforesaid Dictionary say admittedly, `In fact, the more individual cases that we examine the more does it appear that the boundary between highly idiomatic items and the rest is not sharply drawn but hazy and imprecise. We shall do better to think in terms of a scale of idiomaticity, with the `true´ idioms (**step up, take off**) clearly established at the upper end and **draw out** appearing near the bottom, with many items representing varying degrees of semantic and grammatical unity spaced out in between e.g. **put up** (Cowie et al 1976:x).´

This `scale of idiomaticity´ lends further support to Bolinger´s observation of the syntax-morphology continuum along which are structures of various degrees of cohesion.

In conclusion, it may be said that the various kinds of linguistic and lexicographic evidence hitherto put forward in the above discussion has helped to demonstrate a picture of the

language with structures ranging from the completely creative to the entirely fixed and the meanings of these structures may range from the most transparent to the most opaque.

2.4 Psycholinguistic Evidence

The lexicographic and linguistic evidence in support of the idiomatic view of language and the use of `prefabs´ in language production having been considered, the second part of this chapter will investigate the psycholinguistic status of these prefabs.

2.4.1 Enveloping Memory

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Bolinger´s view of language is based on the assumption that the human brain has an immeasurable memory capacity. The frequent use of prefabs among the speakers of the language as revealed in the above discussion has, in fact, implied the possibility of this assumption.

Bolinger says, `the human mind is less remarkable for its creativitiy than for the fact that it remembers everything´. In this respect, he has drawn heavily on the works of Twaddell, Anttila and Ladefoged. The following is a brief summary of their works.

In the discussion on syntactic rules, Twaddell (1972:26) cautions that `there is also much in linguistic activitiy which seems to be more plausibly described as the recall of quite specific memories' and he adds that `it is uneconomical to invent a rule to account for behavior which can be accounted for by an autonomous communicative signal without any necessary systematic relation to the rest of syntax.'

Bolinger (1976:3) explains, `Suppose we took the phrase *out of patience* and look for an underlying representation. It would have to contain the same *out of* that is found in *out of money, out of time, out of ice cream,* out of anything that one formerly had a supply of but has no longer.....When we say *out of patience* we are not pulling *out of* and *patience* separately from storage and putting them together but retrieving the whole thing at once.'

On the other hand, in the discussion on morphology, Anttila (1972:130-131) is of the contention that it is a mistake to `write rules for fossilized connections of the type *drink/drench, bake/batch, hallow/whole*, and so on.' Bolinger (1976:2) remarks, `The truth is that we have the words, but they are stored as independent units.'

Similarly, in the discussion of speech processing, Ladefoged (1972:282) finds that human beings have the psychological capacity and tendency to retrieve the whole thing at once,

> `The indications from neurophysiology and psychology are that, instead of storing a small number of primitives and

organizing them in terms of a [relatively] larger number of rules, we store a large number of complex items which we manipulate with comparatively simple operations. The central nervous system is like a special kind of computer which has rapid access to items in a very large memory, but comparatively little ability to process these items when they have been taken out of memory. There is a great deal of evidence that muscular movements are organized in terms of complex, unalterable chunks of at least a quarter of a second in duration (and often much longer) and nothing to indicate organization in terms of short simultaneous segments which require processing with context restricted-rules.'

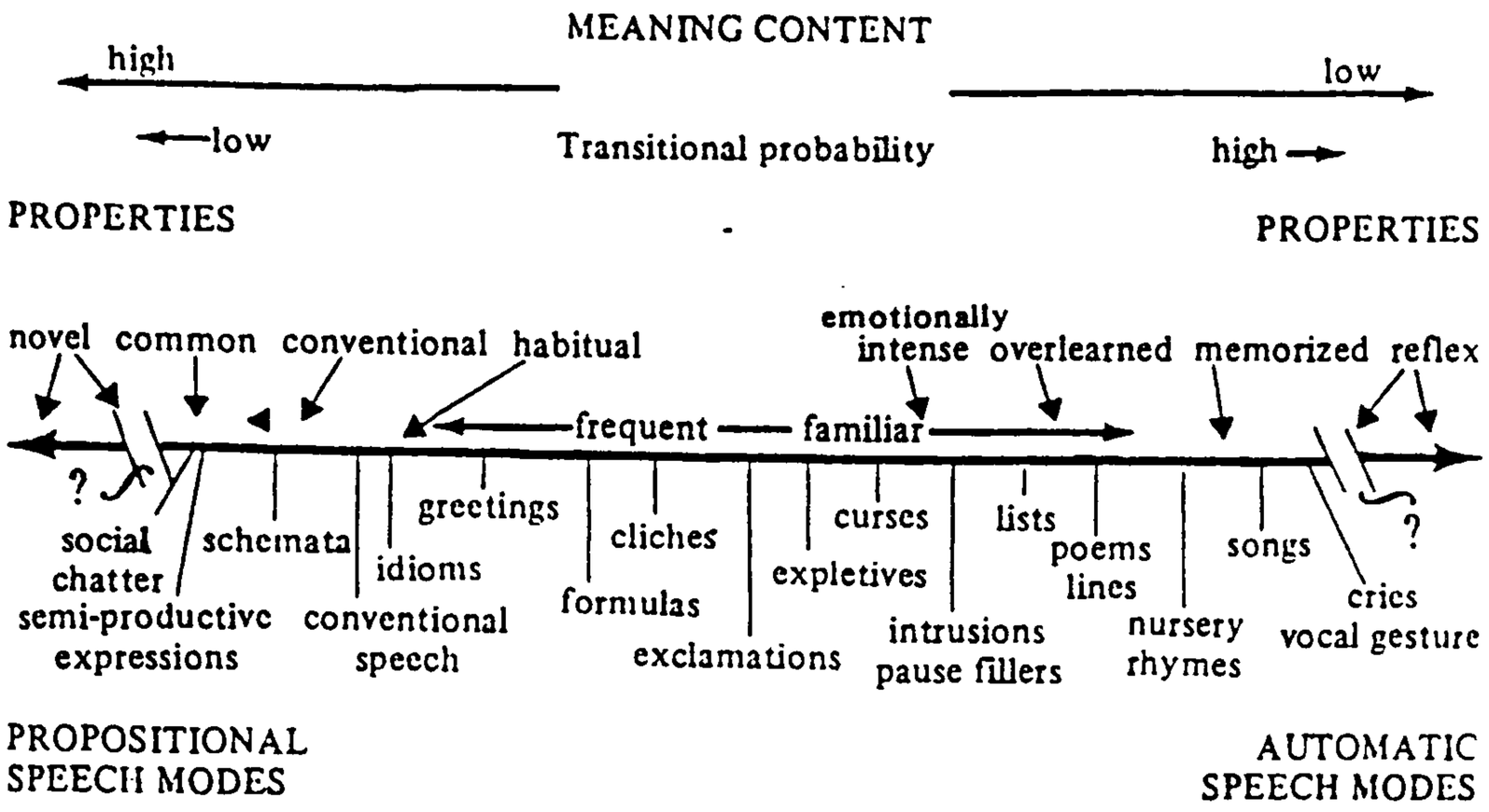
As a matter of fact, that the human brain has an enormous memory capacity is also supported by evidence in psychology. In the field of psychology, there are two positions regarding the capacity of memory.

On the one hand, there are psychologists like Seamon (1980:83) who adopt the position that the capacity of immediate memory is not a fixed quantity but that it is determined by the demands of the task up to the limit of the attentional resources. On the other hand, Miller (1956) and Simon (1974) hold a fixed capacity view. Nevertheless, it can be said that both of these positions support the idea of a big memory.

As a matter of fact Miller (1956) puts forward a `chunking hypothesis´. He introduces a `magic number´ [seven]---the number of chunks [units] that can be held in short-term memory for immediate recall. On the other hand, Simon (1974:483) finds out that the significance of the magic number lies in the assertion that the capacity of short-term memory, measured in chunks, is independent of the material of which those chunks are manufactured---five chunks of words, five chunks of digits, five chunks of colors, five chunks of shapes, five chunks of poetry or prose.´

So, as Nattinger (1988:65) remarks, `Even though these chunks may be larger and contain more information than discrete items, their number still remains fairly constant in memory and their size increases as we become more familiar with remembered material, permitting us to store and recall more information.´

Evidence also comes from neurolinguistic findings which point to the `heterogeneity´ in language and speech. Research of Van Lancker (1975) on dichotic listening indicates that there are two kinds of language, `automatic´ and `propositional´, related to the lateralization of functions in the cortex. The former is associated with the right hemisphere of the brain and the latter the left hemisphere. For example, evidence from aphasics and hemispherectomy patients has suggested that production of intonational contours and automatic speech does not take place in the left hemisphere of the brain. The figure below shows Van Lancker´s gradient of propositional-to-automatic language from Bolinger (1976:13):



A Hypothetical Continuum of Propositional and Automatic Speech Modes and Their Properties.

As Bolinger (1976:13) says, `The separation points to a side that files things and a side that puts them together - a scheme that could readily accommodate itself to the storing of vast quantities of remembered stuff.' Bolinger adds, `Collocations would be the automatic or semi-automatic syntagms that continue to be more or less automatic even when passed through the analytical sieve that separates them into their parts and makes propositional language and elaborated codes possible.'

The following few sections will look at evidence of `prefabs' from findings of research into speech production of adults as well as research into the language of children and second language learners.

2.4.2 Prefabs and the Speech of Adults

It has been generally assumed that the use of `prefabs´ may serve as a `shortcutting device´ which can save processing time and effort, allowing the speaker to focus attention elsewhere.

Drawing on studies of English conversational talk, Pawley and Syder (1976:191) argue that `fluent and idiomatic control of a language rests to a considerable extent on knowledge of a body of `sentence stems´ which are `institutionalized´ or `lexicalized´. A `lexicalized sentence stem´ is defined as `a unit of clause length or longer whose grammatical form and lexical content is wholly or largely fixed; its fixed elements form a standard label for a culturally recognized concept, a term in the language´.

In general, such clauses are not idioms, in that they are analyzable by the grammar of the language, but for efficiency of processing they are nevertheless stored intact and not generated from scratch each time they are needed. By using these `institutionalized clauses´ in conversation, the speaker can focus attention on the `macrostructure of a discourse´ rather than the generation of individual sentences.

Indeed, psycholingustic research into speech errors has revealed errors similar to the word-level speech errors known as "blends" (e.g. *momentary + instantaneous > momentaneous*):

He was breathing down my neck +

He was looking over my shoulder >

He was breathing down my **shoulder**.

I stuck my neck out +

I went out on a limb >

I stuck my neck **out** on a limb

In one ear and out the other +

Here today and gone tomorrow >

In one ear **and** gone tomorrow

The above examples were supplied to Peters (1983) by Pawley, Fillmore, and Fromkin respectively.

As Peters says, the idea that speakers indeed make use of such shortcutting devices when knowledge becomes consolidated is consistent with the `knowledge assembly theory´ proposed by Hayes-Roth. Briefly, the said theory assumes that both the representation and processing of knowledge change qualitatively as learning progresses. Learning begins with the development and strengthening of representations of lower order components of a knowledge structure, each of which is activated in an all-or-none fashion. The component representations are subsequently linked by associations that are also strengthened as learning progresses. A configuration of associated component representations may be strengthened to the point of `unitization´. Then it is functionally a single element in memory and is activated in an all-or-none fashion as its constituents previously were (Hayes-Roth 1977:260).

As a matter of fact, it is the recognition of the ubiguity of these `prefabs´ in speech production that has aroused the interest of researchers to make investigation into the units of acquisition in both the first language and the second language. As this kind of investigation will probably throw light on the nature of `prefabs´, it is worth considering some of the studies more closely.

2.4.3 Prefabs and First Language Acquisition

Clark (1974&1977), who views speech in children as a `developing skill´ and who is concerned about the role of psychological process in the acquisition of syntax, finds that children´s speech begins with a large amount of `prepacked routines´. She is of the opinion that the existence of prepacked routines is a result of the limited processing capacity on linguistic performance of children and their attempt (i.e. strategies) to reduce the effort involved in sentence production and reception.

Clark (1974:1) explains, `If several processes interact in the same performance, they compete for processing. Bruner, Goodnow & Austin (1956) showed that when extra strain was put on memory capacity, subjects switched to a concept learning strategy which, whilst it was less efficient, was less demanding. Similarly, it has been shown that in shadowing experiments, in which subjects have to repeat messages which are presented to them, meaning may have to be sacrificed to speedy and accurate repetition, and vice versa (Cherry 1957:279).´

Regarding the speech of children, Clark agrees with Fitts and Posner (1967) that `it might be fruitful to consider the child´s verbal activity in terms of a number of tasks being performed concurrently. As the child acquires facility with one, he may be able to direct more of his attention to another. His output would then have to be considered, not as so many utterances requiring syntactic analysis, but as evidence of his growing capacity to manipulate a number of parameters concurrently in skilled performance.´

Clark studied the speech of her son, Adam, since the age of fifteen months. She found that the `prepacked routines´ might be a result of the modifications of the child´s own previous utterance, or the modelling of the previous adult utterance or even `copied´ `incompletely analysed units´ to which the child gave a `global interpretation,´ e.g.

Mother: We´re all very mucky.

Child: I all very mucky too.

Mother: Do you want to get off? (He was riding on a roundabout)

Child: No, I want to get on. (Meaning, apparently, that he wanted to stay on.)

As Clark observes, `the utterances suggested that not all the constituents of his utterances were necessarily being processed at all three linguistic levels, phonetic, syntactic and semantic, but some sequences may have been taken over as unopened packages from the previous adult utterance (Clark 1974:3).´

Clark is of the opinion that as a result of these strategies to communicate, `many sequences in Adam´s speech, which would be assumed to have internal structure if the utterances were produced by an adult, may instead be well-practised routines.´

Clark goes as far as to argue that a child does not only begin his language with `prepacked routines´, he also develops his syntax by putting them together. She explains, `many new structures seemed to be the product of juxtapositions of existing routines or simple structure, without internal modification, or the embedding of one such simple, internally cohesive structure within another simple utterance type (Clark 1974:5).´ e.g.

I want <u>you get a biscuit for me</u>.

Let me down, <u>ride my bike</u>.

I don´t know <u>where´s Emma gone</u>.

Where´s <u>the boy brought the milk</u>. (Looking for the milk the boy had brought)

I want <u>I eat apple</u>.

The underlined parts are Clark's identification of the preformed segments. Clark remarks, `the process of modifying a practised sequence internally is psychologically more complex than the process of collocating linguistic units (Clark 1974:7).'

For the same reason, Clark argues that early questions e.g. yes/no and wh-questions are produced by the addition of a question marker to the beginning of the utterance instead of being produced by the application of inversion transformation or the preposing of question words (Clark 1974:7). She produces the following evidence from Adam's speech, e.g.

Where's our van over there? (Is that our van over there?)

Clark says, `Brown (1968:38) has argued persuasively that the very first recorded wh-questions of the Harvard children, Adam, Eve and Sarah, were routines without internal structure, or marked as questions by intonation only.' She then remarks, `The truth may simply be that inversion does not occur at all, in either type of question.' She therefore concludes, `the characteristics of the child's processing mechanism actually play a part in determining the nature of the child's linguistic rules (Clark 1974:7).'

On the other hand, Nelson (1973, 1975&1976) who researches into individual differences in language development has reached the following conclusion: some children emphasize single words, simple productive rules for combining words, nouns and noun

phrases, and referential functions; others use whole phrases and formulas, pronouns, compressed sentences, and expressive or social functions (Nelson 1981:170).

The nature of the two different styles found in the two different approaches to language is summarized in the following set of polarities in `functional psychological terms´: `word´ versus `phrase´, `referential´ versus `expressive´, `cognitive´ versus `pragmatic´, `nominal´ versus `pronominal´, and `analytic´ versus `gestalt´ (Nelson 1981:172).

Indeed, Peters (1977) has a nice account of the gestalt speech of a child Minh whom she studied from 7 months to two years and three months. Born in the U.S. Minh was exposed primarily to Standard English. As Peters (1983:ix) reports, `By beginning to observe this child, I had planned to trace the transition from babbling to speech, and ultimately to connect my observations on his one-word stage with the growing literature on early learning of syntax. What I discovered, however, was that while he was learning a number of traditional "words" *(doggie, kitty, cookie* etc) Minh´s speech consisted more characteristically of relatively long sentencelike utterances, only some of which could be identified with adult words or phrases *(look at that! what is that? open the door!).´* That is to say, Minh produced two distinct kinds of speech i.e. analytic and gestalt.

Referring to the gestalt speech, Peters observes that they occurred earlier and each target phrase had `a very characteristic intonation contour.´ The phrases each seemed to have a `melody´ which was unique enough to be recognized though it was badly mumbled. Some examples are given hereunder (Peters 1977:563):

uh-oh! [¯ _]

look at that! [_ _ ╲]

oopsidaisy! [¯ ¯ _ _]

mommy! [¯ _]

what´s that? [_ ╲]

Peters notes, `Minh regularly approximated each of these phrases by their intonation contours by the time he was 14 months old, having started as early as 11 months.´ Moreover, these `early tunes´ were all used quite frequently and appropriately and gave a very good impression of sentencehood.

On top of the above, Peters finds that `there were "filler syllables" which seemed to be used as place-holders to fill out not yet analysed parts of a phrase.´ For example, when Minh was between 14 and 15 months, he could exclaim (when something fell on the floor) in the following manner (Peters 1977:564):

uh-oh, xxx.

Peters explains, `these utterances were presumably aimed at targets heard from adults...in which one part was relatively fixed (*uh-oh*! or *Mommy*!), with the other part tending to vary depending on the particular situation (e.g. *uh-oh, fell down!; uh-oh, what happened*? or *Mommy, I want you!; Mommy, come help me*!)....The fixed parts were reproduced faithfully; but the variable parts seemed to be less well analysed, and were represented by place-holders like <d∧d∧> and <d∧d∧d∧> (Peters 1977:564).´ In addition, Peters remarks that the gestalt speech was used in `more conversationally defined contexts´. Indeed, other evidence for gestalt language is also found in Brannigan(1977), Leonard(1967), Ramer(1976) etc.

In fact, the evidence of gestalt speech made Peters question the unit of language acquisition. Peters(1983:5) argues quite convincingly that the study of language acquisition should be approached from `the child´s point of view.´ According to Peters, the child was exposed not to `a dictionary of morphemes´ but `an intermitten stream of speech sounds containing chunks, often longer than a single word, that recur with varying frequency.´ And, as Peters says, `it is out of this stream of unknown meaning and structure that the child must attempt to capture some pieces in order to determine their meaning and to preserve them for future use´. She therefore suggests that the `one-word stage´ would have been more accurately labelled the `one-unit stage´ (Peters 1983:6). Also, the recognition that children may be extracting phrases as well as words as their first units can explain the wide range of variation in the size of these units, measured in conventional words or morphemes (or even syllables).

Peters' argument is that if a child can process a two-syllable words e.g. `mommy' or `daddy', she or he should process a two-syllable phrase in the same way because it is impossible for the child to distinguish between the two, at least at the earliest stages of acquiring the language system.

Peters (1983) marshalls evidence to show how the child extracts long units from heard speech and segments them into shorter ones and how the child gains not only lexical but also syntactic information from the segmentation. Peters (1983:89) says,

> `Segmentation also results in structural information, beginning with the simplest formulaic frames with slots, which are progressively generalized into more general syntactic patterns.'

Hereunder is an example of the strategies children use to segment extracted units into smaller units and how they perceive the structural patterns implied by these segmentation (Peters 1983:44). (It was about how a child segmented extracted units and used it for re-analysis: the `unpacking' of the catenative *wanna*. In this example, Suzy (3;8) had suggested that Nani (3;5) pretended that Nani's shawl was a poncho, but Nani did not want to do this):

S: Just pretend to have a poncho.

N: No, I wan'to. No I don't wanna. I wanna be it, a, shawl.

S: Sha'

N: I wan´ it to be a shawl. I wa ⎧n´
S: ⎩Sha´, sha´
N: (shouts) No, I say it myself. (giggles)

[Iwamura 1980,85]

As a matter of fact, Iwamura has diagrammed the utterances to show clearly how Nani was allowed by reanalysis to break *wanna* into *want to* so that she could insert *it*:

N:	No I		wan to	
	No I	don	wanna	
	I		wanna be it,	a shawl.
S:				sha´
N:	I		wan it to be	a shawl.

[Iwamura 1980:86]

The development of formulas into frames is central in Peters´ argument. The following are some examples of a `two-part frames´ with `one constant and one variable part´ (Peters 1983:47):

Mother: What´s the cat´s name?
Adam: Cat name.
Mother: What´s that a picture of?
Adam: Picture of

[Clark 1977:350; Adam nearly 2;4]

Mother: What is this whole thing?
Minh; Whole thing?

Mother: Huh?

Minh: Whole thing.

[Peters: tape of Minh at 1;9]

As Peters observes, 'Adam and Minh seem to have been segmenting on the basis of frames such as *what's the* X, *what's that a* X, and *what's this* X. Or perhaps they had discovered only a single poorly perceived frame such as *what's th----*X (Peter 1983:48).'

In conclusion, it may be said that the findings of L1 research support Bolinger's claim that `in the beginning stages, a child apprehends holistically.....This is because the association a child makes with external reality is "syntagmatic"....It is significant that the collocate is what the young child produces if you ask him a definition. A hole is defined as a hole in the ground, to use an example from Courtney Cazden (1972:72). The verb *throw* does not elicit a synonym such as *toss* but a collocated noun such as *ball* (Bolinger 1976:11).'

The fact is, owing to limited processing capacity, the child uses `prefabs' to minimize effort in speech production and the implication is that the child may not begin by learning syntactic rules and the first grammatically significant events may be the analyses of individual chunks into shorter recurrent segments and, where a sufficient number of different chunks has been analysed, the perception of structural patterns (Peters 1983:91).

2.4.4 Prefabs and Second Language Acquisition

The role of `prefabs´ in the language of L2 learners is also well documented in second language research.

Hatch (1972) and Huang and Hatch (1978) report the close study of a five year old Mandarin speaker from Taiwan learning English in a play-school with American children. Before Paul left Taiwan, he spoke only Mandarin. The researchers were surprised to find that Paul began his second language in chunks in the first month. For instance, Paul was able to say *Get out of here* in the second week and *It´s time to eat and drink, Let´s go, Don´t do that, Don´t touch* etc. in the fourth week. It was only from the sixth week that utterances which clearly were not based on imitation began to occur e.g. *This+++kite, Yeah, that+++bus. Ball+++no* etc.

Huang and Hatch (1978:131) conclude, `Paul´s language development differed from that of a child learning a first language in some important aspects. He already had experience with one natural language system and this helped him in the analysis of meaning and of syntax. He was capable, as younger children are not, of imitating amazingly complex sentences almost from the start and to attach a global meaning to them. It took Paul four months to learn as much language as a child would normally learn in two to three years. In 19 weeks Paul learned a second language without formal "language classes" and he learned it with much less exposure to English than first language learners normally get.´

In fact, Wagner-Gough (1978) has also noted the same phenomenon of the juxtaposition of chunks as found by Clark in children's utterances. Her subject Homer, a Persian child, who learned English in the States in natural environment, relied heavily on routines and patterns to communicate. Moreover, Wagner-Gough (1978:162) says, 'an analysis of portions of the dialogues between Homer and native speakers of English reveals that the shape of Homer's utterances is influenced by the patterns addressed to him.' Here are some examples to illustrate this point:

Mark: Come here.

Homer: No come here.

Judy: Where are you going?

Homer: Where are you going is house.

Sometimes, Homer even juxtaposed syntagmatically related units of social discourse--a question and a response pattern--thereby creating his own wh-pattern:

What is this? This is truck = What is this this is truck.

Wagner-Gough (1978:168) echoes Clark's observation earlier, 'What these speech samples reveal is that patterns which appear to be highly creative and based on a set of internalized language rules may in fact be patterns from dialogue sets that the learner has lifted from his environment.' And Wagner-Gough concludes,

`Evidence of incorporation rules suggests that an analysis based on a transformational-generative theory is not comprehensive enough to explain the process of rule formation.´ In this respect, Wagner-Gough´s view is similar to that of the L1 researchers mentioned earlier.

On the other hand, Hakuta (1974) studied a five year old Japanese girl Uguisu who learned English in the United States in an informal environment. Speech samples were elicited over a 15 month period. According to Hakuta (1974:287), evidence suggests `a strategy of learning on the surface structure level: learning through rote memorization of segments of speech without knowledge of the internal structures of those speech segments.´ He concludes that L2 learners operate within a simple learner system involving prefabricated routines.

Hakuta´s findings in fact are similar to those of Clark and Wagner-Gough both of which suggest that children´s utterances seem to be more `creative´ than they really are.

However, whether these `prefabs´ have a role to play in the acquisition of the L2 is an issue of much debate. In fact, Krashen & Scarcella (1978:292) interpret Hatch and Hakuta´s findings from a different perspective, `One may conclude that the child L2 acquirer has both an increased need and ability to use routines and patterns. The child L2 performer is placed in peer and school situations that demand linguistic interaction

before competence is attained the "slow way" and the older children´s advanced short term memory allows him to pick up and retain the necessary formulas to facilitate interaction.´

According to the above interpretation, competence is `forced´ out of the second language learner. Krashen (1981) therefore argues that formulaic speech only serves as a means of `out-performing competence´. For Krashen the `ability to perform´ and `competence´ appear to be distinct, and the latter relates solely to knowledge of the creative rule system.

Nevertheless, it is Wong Fillmore (1976) who has made the most complete study of formulaic speech produced by second language learners. Instead of limiting herself to a `same single-subject case study´ or a `tidy cross-sectional study´, Fillmore made a longitudinal study of five Spanish-speaking children between 5 and 7 years of age who were learning English as a second language in a natural school setting. For her research design, she paired her five subjects with five English-speaking friends for observations. Her purpose was to discover what social processes might be involved when children who need to learn a new language come into contact with those from whom they are to learn it--but with whom they cannot communicate easily (Wong Fillmore 1979:204).

By the end of the study period, Wong Fillmore found enormous differences among the five children in ease and rate of development rather than in acquisitional procedures. More importantly, these differences were related to the children´s

cognitive approaches to the learning task. The differences had to do with the way in which `the cognitive and social factors of language acquisition interact together´ (Wong Fillmore 1979:207).

Wong Fillmore observes that to be successful learners, children have to make the most of what they have and use limited language widely whether it is strictly appropriate or not. In fact, there was a striking similarity among the five subjects in the acquisition and use of formulaic expressions. Here are some examples of formulaic expressions thereof:

Lookit.

Wait a minute.

Lemme see.

Gimme.

Let´s go.

I don´t care.

I dunno

You know what?

As Krashen and Scarcella (1978:293) report, Wong Fillmore (1976) found that the use of formulaic expressions among the five children `ranged from 52% to 100% of the total number of utterances at the early stages, down to a low of 37% in the most advanced performer at the end of the year. Two children, in fact, remained nearly completely dependent on routines and patterns even at the end of the year.´ Contrast to the view of Krashen and Scarcella, Wong Fillmore finally comes to the conclusion that the strategy of acquiring formulaic speech is central to the

learning of language. Indeed, it is this step that puts the learner in a position to perform the analysis which is necessary for language learning. She says:

> `The formulaic speech in the 1976 study turned out to be important not only because it permitted the children to begin speaking the language long before they knew how it was structured, but also because the formulas the children learned and used constituted the linguistic material on which a large part of the analytical activities involved in language learning could be carried out....Once in the learner's speech repertory, they became familiar, and therefore could be compared with other utterances in the repertory as well as with those produced by other speakers (Wong Fillmore 1979:212).'

The function of formulaic speech in the language learning process is therefore not only social but also cognitive since they provide the data on which children are to perform their analytical activities in figuring out the structure of the language.

According to Fillmore, there are two ways in which the learner begins to analyze the formulaic expressions in his repertory (Wong Fillmore 1979:212):

1 A child may notice how parts of expressions used by others vary in accordance with changes in the speech situation in which they occur or,

2 He may notice which parts of these formulaic expressions are like parts of other utterances he knows or hears, or notice variations of these utterances in the speech of others.

The analytical process carried out on formulas may yield `formulaic frames with abstract slots´ representing constituent types which can substitute in them. For example, Nora had in her speech repertory two related formulas:

I wanna play wi´ dese
I don´ wanna do dese

It was the similarity of these expressions which allowed her to discover that the constituents following *wanna* were interchangeable, and that she could also say

I don´ wanna play wi´ dese
I wanna do dese

Once she realized that these phrases were interchangeable, she was on her way to discovering that similar phrases could be inserted. At that point, these formulas became `formulaic frames with analyzed slots´:

I wanna X/X=VP
I don´t wanna X/X=VP

i.e. where other verb phrases (VP) can be inserted into the slot represeted by X (Wong Fillmore 1979:212-213).

Moreover, the analytic process also frees the constituent parts of the formula to function in other constructions either as `formulaic units´ or as `wholly analyzed items.´ For example, in the above formulas, the phrase

play wi´ X/X=NP

becomes a formulaic verb phrase unit which can be used in the verb phrase slot of other frames such as

Le´s X/X=VP *(e.g. Le´s play wi´ that one)*

It can be used in productive constructions as well:

She´s play wi´dese

Finally, when all of the contitutents of the formula have become freed from the original construction, what is left for the learner is an abstract structure consisting of a pattern or rules by which he can construct like sentences (Wong Fillmore 1979:213). Wong Fillmore (1979:215) adds, `For a long while, however, much of his speech would consist of formulas or be constructed of formulaic units according to rules which were being derived through the analytical procedures described above.´

While Wong Fillmore researched into natural second langauge acquisition, Ellis studied classroom second language learning. Though Ellis appears to hold a `middle´ position in respect of the creativity of chunks, he admits that there is evidence in the second language classroom of the unanimous claim made by some researchers in both the fields of foreign language and second language development that `formulas serve as the basis for "creative" speech as the learner comes to realise that the formulas he first understood and used as unanalysed wholes consist of discrete constituents that can be combined with other constituents in a variety of rule-bound ways´ (Ellis 1984:72).

The following are some examples from the speech of three children in the clasroom. All the italicised utterances are `juxtaposed structures´:

That one I don´t know

I don´t know *what´s this*

In the above examples, two routines were combined into a single utterance.

In the following examples, the learner had incorporated a constituent from the teacher´s previous utterance, attaching it as a single unanalysed unit to his/her existing routine:

I don´t know *what is squirrel*

I don´t know *making*

Ellis remarks, `much of the apparent development can be explained either in terms of additional routines or by the conversion of routines to patterns. If such an analysis is correct, little real "analysis" has taken place (Ellis 1984:75).'

Regarding the role of formulas in classroom second language development, Ellis (1984:76) reports that `there is general acceptance that L2 performance is aided and enhanced by formulaic speech.' He adds, `this is based on a "reasonable hypothesis" that "utterances produced with reference to the underlying rule system take longer to process than when they are produced as wholes".'

Ellis agrees with Steinberg (1982:123) that `the fact that speakers are able to produce and understand sentences at the fantastic rate that they do could never be explained if we suppose that every sentence had to be constructed through application of all related rules.'

Ellis (1984:77) is therefore of the contention that `familiar phrases and sentences' facilitate processing by making available direct meaning-bound asociations. His reasoning is as follows: `Steinberg's comments refer to native speaker performance. The need for processing relief in L2 speaker performance is that much greater.'

In summary, the examinations of the research into the speech errors of adults as well as the language of the L1 and L2 learners both in the naturalistic and classroom environment in

the above few sections have confirmed the psycholinguistic status of `prefabs´ in these groups. One of the main reasons is that though the human brain has a huge memory, its processing capacity is limited and the use of `prefabs´ helps to save processing time.

2.4.5 Storage and Retrieval

The question that has been touched upon several times in the above discussion is the storage and retrieval of these prefabs of the language.

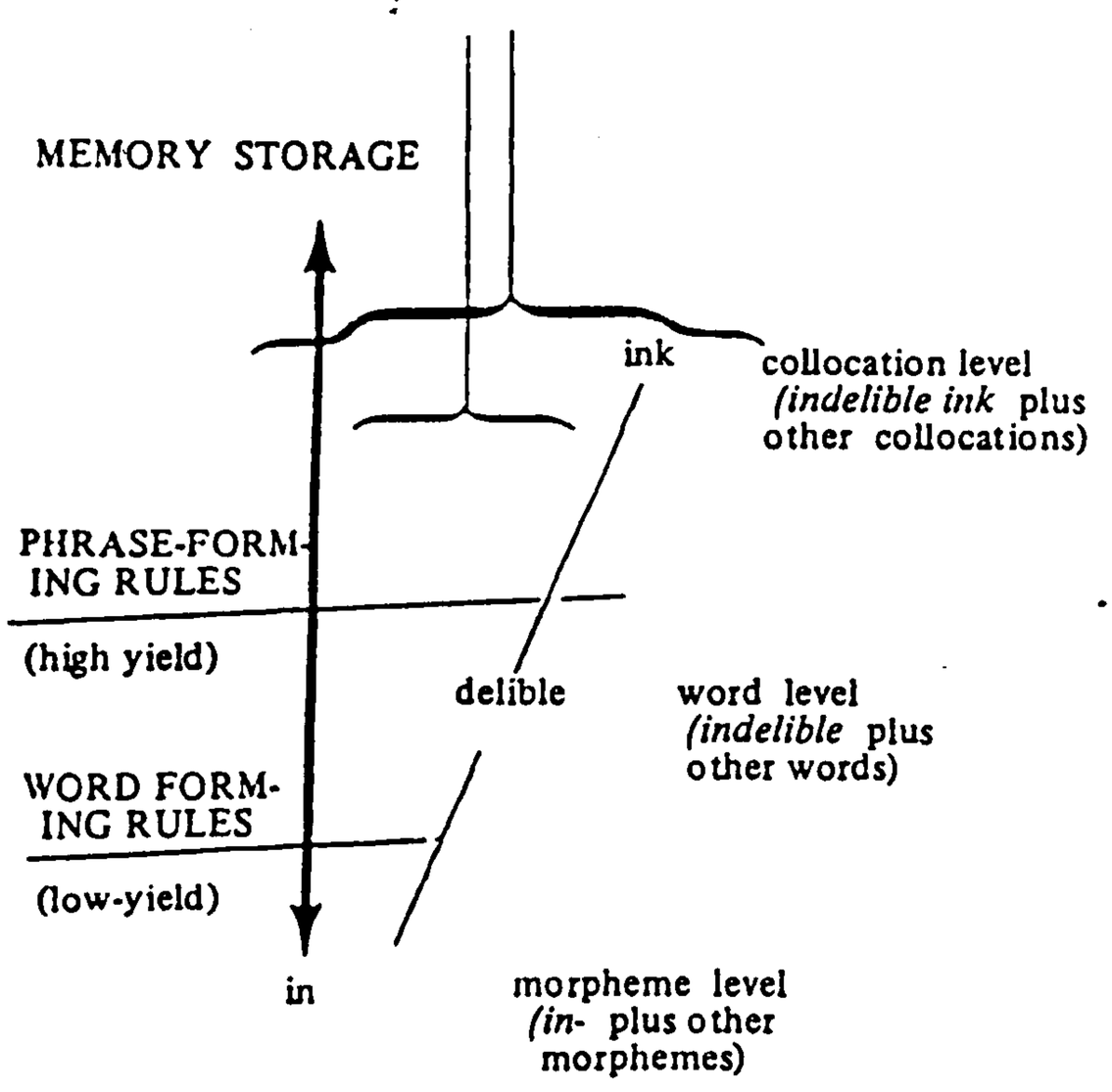
As far as storage is concerned, Bolinger (1975:105) is of the contention that `the brain stores both the parts and the wholes and we retrieve them when we need them.´ This is made possible by an enveloping memory, which has already been discussed earlier and need not be repeated here.

According to Bolinger, a child begins with collocations and learns his language through them. He says, `These collocational chunks, however, persist as coded units even after the chemical analysis into words has partially split them up. For instance, *How do you do* ? has been condensed to *Howdy* (Bolinger 1975:100).´

Bolinger (1976:7-8) explains, `It does not seem odd to us to suppose that an understanding of the prefix *un-* comes by way of some analytical processing of the words that we learn in which *un-* occurs. Since it never occurs alone there is no other way. And it would be absurd to imagine that once we have learned the

efix *un-* we will proceed to forget all the words from which we t it, and then coin them anew whenever we need them. Clearly we ssess *un* as a unit and we also possess *unwise, ungracious, do,* and *unwind*. By the same token we must retain the llocations even after the individual words have become entities their own right.'

So, for Bolinger, prefabs in the circumstances have the agical property of persisting even when we knock some of them art and put them together in unpredictable ways.' Accordingly, linger (1975:100) criticises the fact that structural nguistics and transformational-generative grammar have derplayed the extent to which the brain stored prefabricated nguistic units and suggests instead that `the three elements-- llocations (including idioms), words and morphemes are kept in orage'. The following figure in respect of the storage in the ntal lexicon is taken from Bolinger (1976:10) for illustration:



In view of the above diagram, Bolinger explains, `the vertical double-headed arrow signifies that morphemes as morphemes may or may not be stored; much depends on the perceptions of individuals.´ Bolinger is of the opinion that `in learning our language, we read the diagram "down"; it has the advantage of showing the degree of penetration into ever tighter structure that different individuals are able to manage. Linguists tend to read it "up", which has caused a great misconceptions when they have tried to fit their descriptions to psychological reality (Bolinger 1976:10).´

Indeed, Peters, at the end of her research into the unit of L1 acquisition, comes to more or less the same conclusions (Peters 1983:89):

1 In terms of storage and use, however, there is no difference between such long units and units that happen to be minimal: To the language learners they are all units, and are stored in the lexicon and retrieved as such.

2 All units, or entries, in the learner´s lexicon are candidates for the fundamental process of segmentation by which they are broken down into smaller units. Segmentation may be applied to material in ongoing conversations, or to units already stored in the lexicon.

3 The smaller units that result from segmentation are themselves entered in the lexicon.

4 A unit that has been segmented may or may not be deleted from the lexicon.

5 The learner´s lexicon grows as the learner collects not only units perceived in conversation and the results of their segmentation, but also the results of `fusion´ i.e. the process by which often-used combinations are stored as preassembled units for quick and easy retrieval.

6 The process of fusion continues even into adulthood, where, even though mature speakers have presumably analyzed most of their original lexical entries into ultimate constituents, larger commonly used chunks seem to be available as single fused lexical units in the production of speech. Some items may also be stored at one or more intermediate levels, as partially assembled lexico-syntactic frames with open slots.

Peters further emphasizes that the implication of such `redundant storage´ is that storage is not the only parameter that a language user attempts to minimize. She says, `Efficiency of processing is an additional, competing requirement. If all lexical and syntactic information were stored without any redundancy, a speaker would have to construct every expression from morphemes. But evidence is accumulating that in order to reduce processing time we indeed use partially redundant forms of storage (Peters 1983:90).´

Peters reinforces her argument by saying that it is a mistake to draw an analogy between the human brain and early computers. These computers were severely limited in memory capacity, but less limited in computational speed. However, current evidence about the human brain suggests that it has a great deal of memory capacity and powerful information-handling ability, but is severely limited in processing speed. Redundant forms of storage that would save processing time seem well adapted for these capabilities (1983:91).

2.5 Summary and Conclusion

It might be helpful to rehearse briefly the main line of argument in this chapter. This chapter attempts to look at `the broad spectrum of word combinations´ within an idiomatic view of language which objects to the sharp distinction between lexis and syntax but which suggests a `dynamic and fluid continuum´ between the two elements. Bolinger marshalls linguistic evidence to demonstrate how in the middle ground of this continuum the free and the bound forms of the language `crease´ easily. The rationale behind his view of language is that if idioms, the status of which is close to that of words, have various degrees of tightness and as they loosen up, they merge with phrases generated by rules, there is the possibility that even expressions which are generally assumed to be `generated´ by rules are, to a certain extent, idiomatic without the speaker of the language being aware of it.

The examination of further linguistic evidence has demonstrated how the continuum ranges from semi-fixed structures such as the `schemata´ to expressions which are entirely fixed such as the `ready made utterances´ and the `institutionalized clauses´. This view of language is also supported by research into natural language processing in text as well as the `idiom principle´ which is based on the textual evidence that the speaker of the language uses a large number of `semi-preconstructured phrases´ as wholes. On the other hand, the suggestion of a `scale of idiomaticity´ reinforces the need to look at the `prefabs´ of the language in various clines of structural fixity and semantic opacity.

The idiomatic view of language is based on the assumption that the human brain has a big memory but limited processing capacity. The fact that human beings have a big memory capacity is supported by research into speech production, psychological research into memory, as well as neurolinguistic research into speech modes. On the other hand, the fact that the use of prefabs is necessitated by the limited processing capacity has also been examined from the perspective of the speech of adults as well as the language of the first and second language learners. It has been found that the use of prefabs allows the adult speakers to pay more attention to the macrostructure of the discourse and increases the fluency in their speech. The use of prefabs in the L2 learners, on the other hand, is made possible by their imitation capacity and it indicates at the same time the need among the L2 learners to have social interaction in a foreign language community.

However, it is still a controversial issue whether the knowledge of prefabs is considered part of linguistic competence i.e. the ability to internalize the rules of the grammar of the language. While some researchers such as Krashen consider prefabs as non-creative, a fair number of L1 and L2 researchers such as Peters and Wong Fillmore see the acquisition of syntax in the segmentation of these prefabs. The implication of the findings of the latter is that the learning of the language begins with the learning of the chunks of the language. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to say that the knowledge of prefabs has a contribution to the language learning process, particularly in second language learning, be it in a natural language environment or a classroom environment.

Indeed, the evidence of `formulaic frames with abstract slots' in both L1 and L2 acquisition has demonstrated quite convincingly that the learning of prefabs is closely related to or in fact will greatly enhance the learning of grammar. Furthermore, findings of L2 research have indicated that the learning of prefabs is facilitated by the need to communicate and that the use of prefabs among the learners is determined to a great extent by the language to which they are exposed. These have important implications for teaching in respect of the design of classroom activities and the provision of input.

In brief, prefabs can best be captured within the framework of an idiomatic view of language. The pervasiveness of their existence is supported by both linguistic and psycholinguistic evidence. In addition , they have been found to play an essential role in the learning or the acquisition of the language.

Having looked at syntagmatic units in relation to the idiomatic view of language and the psycholinguistic status of these units, it may be appropriate to make a classification of these units with reference to this view of language in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Syntagmatic Units

3.1 Introduction

The nature of syntagmatic relations having been examined in Chapter One, and the syntagmatic units within a framework based on an idiomatic view of language as well as the psychological assumptions on which this view of language is based having been considered in Chapter Two, this Chapter in consequence is an attempt to make a classification of syntagmatic units with particular reference to the idiomatic view of language. It is hoped that such a classification will throw light on the various kinds of learning difficulties involved and may have some useful implications for teaching.

The cohesive structure of the language implies that it will be very difficult to make a clear-cut classification of syntagmatic units therefor. In fact, the difficulty is also reflected in the lack of a standardized terminology in this area. As Cowie (1981:57) puts it, `There is, for instance, no generally accepted term under which both collocation and idiom can be subsumed, though Mitchell usefully introduces "composite element" as a label embracing idioms, collocations and compounds.´ Nor is there a term in general currency for the study of `composite lexical units.´ Cowie (1981:225) remarks, `Confusion, or uncertainty, extends to the use of "idiom" and "collocation" also. The former is still used by linguists to refer to composite units of

differing degrees of variability, while the latter is not yet widely used outside a broadly Firthian tradition of linguistic analysis.'

Hereunder are just a few examples showing how different terms are used for the same syntagmatic unit and the same term for different ones. For example, Palmer (1976:98) describes idioms as `collocation of a special kind'. On the other hand, Carter (1987:58) refers to idioms as `restricted collocation'. For another example, Carter is of the opinion that units which have been named `prefabricated routines' by Bolinger (1976), `patterned phrases' and `frozen forms' by Nattinger (1980), `routine formulae' by Coulmas (1979), `conventionalized language forms' by Yorio (1980), `lexicalized sentence stems' by Pawley and Syder (1983) are generally known as `stable collocations'. For a further example, Halliday (1966:21) regards cliches as `fixed collocations' while Zgusta (1971) subsumes cliches under `free combination of words'.

The above confusion may be caused by the fact that when words go together regularly, they form combinations of words. When the combinations of words recur frequently, due to various factors, they form combinations of various degrees of cohesion, which may be described in terms of collocability, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, cultural differences or many other criteria.

However, what is generally agreed among linguists and applied linguists is that it is difficult or impossible to obtain clear-cut boundaries between these word combinations and for this very reason, they are usually described or identified along a certain kind of continuum or cline between what is free and restricted, between what is transparent and opaque, or between what is language universal and what is culturally specific. Indeed, Carter (1987) suggests three formal linguistic recognition criteria for determining the `lexicality of fixed expressions´. The ensuring section will look at them in greater detail.

3.2 Three Linguistic Criteria

Carter (1987:63&64) draws on the findings of various linguistic theories and puts forward the following three criteria for `fixing´ lexical patterns:

1 Collocational restriction

2 Syntactic structure

3 Semantic opacity

According to Carter, the lexical units of fixed expressions can be ascertained with reference to these criteria. Carter is of the opinion that the idea of the **cline** can help to `range these units in terms of sets of continua with fixed points but several intermediate categories.´

For instance, collocational restriction may be classified as follows:

1 Unrestricted collocation e.g. take a look/a rest

2 Semi-restricted collocation e.g. harbour doubt/grudges

3 Familiar collocation e.g. innocent bystander, unrequited love

4 Restricted collocation e.g. dead drunk, pretty sure

On the other hand, syntactic structure may be divided into the following categories:

1 Flexible e.g. break somebody's heart

2 Regular with certain constraints e.g. to drop a brick, to smell a rat

3 Irregular e.g. to go one better, to be good friends with sb.

Similarly, semantic opacity may be classifed as follows:

1 Tranparent e.g. long time, no see; when all is said and done

2 `Semi' idioms/metaphors/idiomatic similes e.g. we are all in the same boat, an open-door policy

3 Semi-transparent e.g. the business really took off; to get round somebody

4 Opaque:

(a) overt e.g. O.K; right on;

(b) covert e.g. to be on the wagon; to be on the ball

The suggestion of these three linguistic clines is another way of saying that lexical and syntactic restriction as well as opacity of meaning is a matter of degree. These three criteria not only give support to Bolinger's view of language but also help to provide better description of syntagmatic units. However, while Carter should be given credit for posing these criteria so systematically, it should be pointed out that there are always overlapping areas between the categories listed above and, moreover, the linguistic property of combinations of words can only be described separately according to each of these clines. For instance, the collocational restriction of a certain combination may be classified as `unrestricted' but the semantic opacity may be `semi-transparent' and may not necessarily be `transparent'. Furthermore, in considering the `linguistic recognition criteria' of word combinations, the pragmatic and cultural aspects of these combinations should also be taken into consideration at one go.

It is therefore argued that from a **pedagogic** perspective, syntagmatic units or word combinations are best grouped into three very broad categories according to the various kinds of learning difficulties involved. As it is generally assumed that the relatively free syntagmatic units are easier to learn than the relatively fixed ones, for practical reasons, it may be useful to introduce an umbrella term called **chunks** to refer to all the syntagmatic units ranging from the relatively free to those which are completely fixed along the syntax-morphology continuum proposed by Bolinger. Chunks may then be classified to three very broad categories, that is, **Loose Chunks, Restricted**

Chunks and **Fixed Chunks**. The following few sections will review the most important discussions relevant to the above three broad categories, the focus being on the nature of the various kinds of difficulties involved in each of the categories. In the following discussion, reference will largely be based on linguistic and lexicographic evidence.

3.3 Loose Chunks

Loose Chunks are combinations which are relatively free and the meanings of which are on the whole easy to understand.

Aisenstadt (1979:71) says that `all word-combinations in present-day English can be divided into idioms and non-idiomatic phrases´ and the latter can in turn be subdivided into `free phrases´ and `RCs´(i.e. Restricted Collocations). It is the `free phrases´ that are relevant to our discussion of Loose Chunks in this section. According to Aisenstadt, free phrases are `combinations of two or more words with free commutability within the grammatical and semantic framework of the language.´ Moreover, they are the vast majority of collocations in the language (Aisenstadt 1981:54).

It is important to note that these `free´ phrases or collocations are defined with reference to both the grammar and semantics of the language. If the degree of freedom between words is considered with reference to a particular language, it is reasonable to say that a combination which is free according to the linguistic criteria of a certain language may not be

considered as having the same degree of freedom in another language as the grammar and semantics of different languages may not be exactly the same.

Likewise, in a discussion on word combinations in lexicography, Zgusta differentiates between two broad categories i.e. `free combination´ and `set combination.´ Free combinations have the following characteristics (Zgusta 1971:140):

1 They are created by the speaker ad hoc, on the spur of the moment, for the purpose of the statement he just intends to utter.

2 Their meaning is absolutely derivable from the meaning of the single combined words.

3 They cannot be considered to be wholes (or units), or to be members of the system of language as wholes (i.e. as complex units), because they are elicited only by the concrete necessity of what the speaker intends actually to say.

Moreover, `free combinations´ are the most typical way the native speaker of a language uses a word. Furthermore, free combinations can help to differentiate the multiple meaning of a word e.g.

kitchen table

table of the value n.

However, Zgusta points out that the restrictions in `free combinations´ can sometimes be rather rigid, e.g. `Eng. *to neigh* will frequently have a horse as subject.´ More significantly, Zgusta remarks, `**the combinatory powers** of the two respective words in.....two languages are frequently different though the two words are close equivalents as far as lexical meaning goes (Zgusta 1971:142).´

For example, `who can eat - only man or also animals? In English, the verb can have as subject substantives which denote either. In Czech, what is expressed in English by the same verb must be expressed by two different verbs, viz. *jísti* and *žráti*, depending whether it is a human being or an animal who is the agent of the action.´ For another example, `What can one break: In English, almost everything; a stick, a string, an egg, etc. In Shilluk, one can break wood, but strings are "pulled in two", glass or eggs "are killed" etc. A similar case can be seen in Burmese, Minn Latt reports. The proper words in the respective cases are *tjôu*, *pyat* and *kwê*, respectively. One cannot use the verb *pyat* when a saucer is broken (Zgusta 1971:140,141).´

If that is the case, to what extent is a word really free? As Zgusta says, `in a certain sense, every word´s applicability is limited by some of its properties, beginning with its stylistic value, through its semantic connections, to its grammatical category (Zgusta 1971:42).´ In this respect, Zgusta´s observation is similar to that of Aisenstadt.

Cowie, on the other hand, emphasizes the meaning of the words in the combinations. `Words, and the semantic varieties of words, differ according to the range of other items with which they can acceptably combine, and the semantic diversity of those items (Cowie 1978:132).´ Following Weinreich (1969), Cowie is of the opinion that `the most important constraint on range or diversity appears to be the meaning of the word whose freedom of collocability one happens to be examining.´

For example, the verb *run* in the sense `operate´ or `cause to function´ does not only have an open-ended range of collocates e.g. *machines, car; army, team; business, scheme* etc but it is also `semantically diversified´ in the sense that the collocating nouns are `animate as well as inanimate, and concrete as well as abstract´ (Cowie 1978:133). Thus, it is the meaning of the word that determines the formation of a Loose Chunk.

In his discussion on `idiomaticity´, Cowie et al. (1983:xiii) say, `The use of the terms `open´, `free´ or `loose´ to refer to such collocations reflects the fact that, in each case, both elements (verb and object, or adjective and noun) are freely recombinable, as for example in *fill, empty, drain the sink* and *fill the sink, basin, bucket.* Typically also, in open collocations, each element is used in a common literal sense.´ That is to say, Loose Chunks are distinguished by their literal meaning and the substitubility of their word components.

In fact, Cowie (1978:132) defines collocation as the `co-occurrence of two or more lexical items as realization of structural elements within a given syntactic pattern´ and he identifies two types of `open collocations´: *established* and *potential* collocations. Both types of collocations are related to the life of the speakers of the language and are distinguished by their predictability.

Referring to the `established collocations´, Cowie (1978:134) says, `Among the open collocations, ...one finds some co-occurrences which are more familiar, or firmly established in use, than others. Among such collocations, which constant repetition has helped to familarize, and in which the mutual accompaniment of words often reflects the common association of things, we shall find *bacon and eggs. fish and chips,* and *cup and saucer.*´ In fact, `collocations of this type can be so well established in the experience of the native speaker that, given one element, he is able to predict the other.´ However, Cowie is careful to point out that among familiar collocations, some may be more familiar than the others.

As for the `potential collocations´, they are combinations `which, although not as immediately identifiable as *mild and bitter* or *salt and pepper,* are none the less perfectly intelligible in terms of the compatibility of the meanings of their parts (Cowie 1978:135).´ For instance, *liver and mash, coley and chips.*

Summary: A Loose Chunk carries literal meaning and because of this, it is assumed to be easier for L2 learners to understand. Moreover, the components in the Loose Chunks can combine freely with other words to form other combinations. In this respect, a Loose Chunk is more `creative´ than the other kinds of chunks. However, it has been shown that Loose Chunks are considered relatively free within the syntactic and semantic framework of the language. As different languages may have different linguistic frameworks, it follows that Loose Chunks which are considered `free´ in one language may not be so in another language. For instance, the combinatory powers of words in different languages may vary accordingly, and the semantic varieties of words in different languages may not be the same. Moreover, it has also been demonstrated that even `free´ collocations of words may be a matter of degree and furthermore, some of these collocations may be closely related to the life and the culture of a certain speech community. These observations obviously have significant implications for teaching. The point is, although the native speakers of the language use Loose Chunks sponataneously in natural conversation, it does not necessarily mean that L2 speakers will have no difficulty in using these chunks. The difficulty may be caused by the different linguistic properties between words in the two languages, different ways of living, different cultures or conventions. In other words, what is viewed as `freely generated´ by the native speaker of a language may be `restricted´ to the L2 learner. This is a very important fact which should not be overlooked in the teaching of chunks of the L2, especially in an L1 environment.

Regarding the learning of chunks, Mackin (1978:150) suggests the following : `He [the L2 learner] can learn it only from experience, like the native speaker. This experience may be the result of making a mistake...Or he may come across it a few times in his reading, or be explicitly taught it in the English classroom.´ However, Mackin warns, `He could not possibly hope to learn the tens of thousands of such collocations quickly; nor, indeed, is there any short cut to acquiring them for productive purpose.´ This implies that the learning of chunks should be purposeful and it should be regarded as a long-term process. This further implies that chunks should be taught at all levels and should not be restricted to the more advanced level.

Finally, whether Loose Chunks should be learnt as integrated wholes is a question teachers have to address. Though Loose Chunks are not considered as wholes in the language system, in view of all the learning difficulties discussed above, it is suggested that Loose Chunks should best be learnt as wholes irrespective of their transparent meaning and flexible structures.

3.4 Restricted Chunks

Chunks which do not belong to the categories of `Loose Chunks´ and `Fixed Chunks´ will be considered herein. As far as Restricted Chunks are concerned, the learning difficulty is generally caused by the collocational restriction as well as the

specific meaning conveyed by the word(s) in the chunk. The following discussion will refer to the findings based on the analysis of both American and British English.

In a study of collocations in the Brown Corpus, Kjellmer (1982) defines collocation as a `lexically determined and grammatically restricted sequence of words.´ However, even within the category of collocation so selected, Kjellmer finds that `some sequences have a higher degree of lexical identity or independence, more of a lexeme-like quality than others. ´

Kjellmer therefore suggests `a scale of distinctiveness´ with highly predictable sequences at one end e.g. *the boy, to go, for him* and phrases at the other end e.g. *no hope that, hopeful sign, hopeful that*. In between, there would be many instances whose status is less certain (Kjellmer 1984:164).

Kjellmer seems to use the term `predictable´ in a rather unusual way. Usually this term refers to the severe restriction between words e.g. *spick* and *span*. But what is interesting is Kjellmer´s observation of the `lexeme-like´ quality in the restricted collocations, which he describes as `highly distinctive´. Kjellmer describes the `lexeme-like´ quality of these collocations as follows:

1 They are often semantically identical, or almost identical, with single lexical words:

take aim = aim

make an attempt = attempt

meet with = meet

the United Stated = America

the Soviet Union = Russia

the morning/evening star = Venus

2 They are also like single-word lexeme in being subject to various restrictions not found with free expressions, such as constraints on syntactic variation, on the semantic reference of constituents, on modification, on the order of constituents, on prosody, e.g.

on foot * on feet,

cf. footpath: *feetpath;

four letter word * any word of four letter,

cf. blackbird *any black bird;

every Tom, Dick and Harry *every Tom, Harry and Dick,

cf. blackboard: *boardblack

the White House; the white house,

cf. `export: ex´port

Although Kjellmer agrees with Anward & Linell (1976) that there is no one factor that singles out `lexicalised phrases´ from free expressions and the former are rather characterised by a cluster of factors, he attempts to find out how `distinctiveness´ can be measured. His conclusion is that in the

Brown Corpus, the following factors can be indicative of collocational distinctiveness: frequency, structural complexity and length. In short, a sequence is more likely to be distinctive if it is more frequent, longer, and structurally more complex. Kjellmer (1987) goes further to show how length and complexity interact with genre and frequency but it is inappropriate to go into detail here.

Coincidentally, Aisenstadt (1979, 1981) studies `restricted collocations´ (RCs) based on an extensive corpus of present-day English. He eventually formulates the view that `restricted collocations´ are different from both `free word combinations´ and `idioms´.

According to Aisenstadt, RCs are different from `free word combinations´ by their `usage-restricted commutability.´ RCs are defined as `combinations of 2 or more words, the components of which are used in one of their unidiomatic (often secondary, abstract, figurative) meanings, which follow certain structural patterns, and in which one word at least is restricted in its commutability not only by its grammatical and semantic valency, but also by usage´ (Aisenstadt 1981:54).

Aisenstadt explains, `Thus the verb *carry* in its main meaning of "supporting the weight of something" or "taking something from one place to another" can commute freely with any noun denoting the thing to be supported or moved; it can enter a great number of free word-combination (Aisenstadt 1979:72).´ e.g

carry a book/bag/chair/torch/table

`In another of its meaning, the verb *carry* might enter a restricted collocation pattern with only a few possible variations of the second constituent, e.g. its use to denote "being convincing" or "winning the argument",´ says Aisenstadt. e.g.

carry conviction/persuasion/weight

On the other hand, RCs are different from `idioms´ in the following ways (Aisenstadt 1979:71):

1 they are not idiomatic in meaning; they do not form one semantic unit; their meaning is made up as the sum of the meanings of their constituents.

2 they have much greater variability and usually occur in patterns with a number of interchangeable constituents e.g. the verb *face*, when used with the meaning `recognize the existence of something´ or `being prepared to deal with the existing situation´ commutes with a restricted number of nouns listed below:

face the facts/the truth/the problem/the circumstance

In contrast with the above restricted collocations, *face the music* is an idiom.

Cowie, however, sees a continuum between the most and the least Restricted Chunks, `Around a central point of the continuum, there are less restricted combinations such as *explode a claim* etc. It is a type of collocation which involves a word which has developed a highly specialzed sense and a set of co-occurring words which is correspondingly restricted, both in number and in meaning,´ e.g

canvas =introduce

canvas/idea, notion, theory, possibility

explode =refute

explode/claim, theory, fallacy, case

On the other hand, Cowie observes that there are collocations which are more restricted. Cowie says, `They are combinations in which a given meaning of one item is uniquely accompanied by another item (*qua* item) e.g. *foot the bill*. The special sense of *foot* (=`settle´) is determined by its collocation with *bill* (and only *bill*: *foot the account* is not an acceptable collocation) (Cowie 1978:134).´

Cowie (1981:226) takes up two further points. Firstly, `the figurative meaning of one element (e.g. *command* in *command respect*) is an important determinant of limited collocability at the other.´ Secondly, `in some studies determination is viewed the other way about. Since *explode* in the sense *"show to be false*, or *no longer true*" occurs in no lexical context other than *myth, belief,* etc., one can say that the choice of the

specialized meaning of the verb is contextually determined (Weinreich 1969:42)'. That is to say, in a Restricted Chunk, both semantic and lexical factors are inextricably involved.

In fact, it is due to this reason that Cowie et al (1983) have included `restricted collocation' in the Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English Vol 2. He justifies the inclusion by saying that `though there are similarities between restricted collocation and free collocation in the sense that some members of this category allow a degree of lexical variation e.g. *a cardinal error, sin, virtue, grace* and that the "literal" element is sometimes replaced by a pronoun, or deleted altogether, in sentences where there is an earlier use of the full expression, e.g.

The Board didn't ***entertain the idea,*** *and the Senate wouldn't* ***entertain it*** *either*

Bloggs had ***a*** *rather* ***chequered career,*** *and I've heard it said that Blenkinsop's was equally* ***chequered*** *(or* ***an*** *equally* ***chequered one)***

the particular sense which *jog* has in *jog one's/sb's memory* occurs in no other context, while that of *chequered* is limited to collocations with *career* and *history.*' Cowie adds, `It is the determination of a special meaning by a limited context which argues for the inclusion of such expressions in an "idiomatic"

dictionary (Cowie et al. 1983:xiii).' In this respect, Cowie's observation of Restricted Chunks is similar to that of Aisenstadt.

Indeed, Aisenstadt (1979:71) is of the contention that restricted collocability may be considered one of the `language universals' while its `specific structures, meanings, and usages vary from language to language.' As far as the English language is concerned, he observes three aspects of the RCs (1979 & 1981):

1 The structural pattern

2 The commutability restrictions

3 The meanings of components

Regarding the structural pattern, Aisenstadt finds the following main structural patterns of RCs in present-day English (Aisenstadt 1981:55):

1 V + (art) + (A) + N

(1a) command admiration/devotion/attention/respect

(1b) give a laugh; have a smoke; make a move; take a walk

2 V + prep + (art) + (A) + N

leap to a conclusion/conviction/decision

3 A + N

cogent argument/reason/remark

4 V + Adv

take off, take out, take away,
sit up, sit down

5 I(intensifier) + A

dead tired, dead drunk
stark mad, stark naked.

Aisenstadt remarks that the most productive and widely spread are the verbal ones (i.e. patterns 1,2,4).

As for the commutability restrictions on RCs, Aisenstadt (1981:58) finds the following:

1 A vast number of RCs have both components restricted in their commutability to a certain limited number of co-occurring words. For examples,

shrug *one's shoulders/smth off/smth away*

shrug/square/hunch one's shoulders

2 Some RCs are with one restricted component and the other one free. `Here we have [structural] pattern (1b), where one of the verbs "give, have, make, take" forms a RC with a deverbal noun mostly in the singular and preceded by the

indefinite article,' remarks Aisenstadt (1981:65).

have a walk/a smoke

give a laugh

make a move

take a glance

Aisenstadt also observes that in this pattern i.e. (1b) the nominal component is restricted in its commutability, though not always to one verb only, e.g.

make a move, take a move

give a laugh, have a laugh

have a look, take a look, give a look.

Concerning the meaning of the components in the RCs, Aisenstadt observes three main types of meanings (Aisenstadt 1981:57):

1 a very narrow and specific meaning, thus limiting the commutability of the word e.g.

shrug one's shoulders

shrug smth off

shrug smth away

Aisenstadt explains that the verb `shrug' has the main meaning of the physical movement of one's shoulders, and in this meaning it can commute with the noun `shoulders' only. Its secondary,

abstract meaning is that of putting something aside, moving it away e.g.`shrug off´, or `shrug away´. On the other hand, the noun `shoulder´ denotes something that cannot perform too many different actions. That is why it is unlikely to collocate with many different verbs (Aisenstadt 1981:58).

2 a secondary, abstract meaning of a word, which in its main, concrete meaning commutes freely, e.g.

pay attention/heed/a call/a visit/homage

carry conviction/persuasion

command respect/attention

`The verbs *pay, carry, command* in their main meaning denote concrete actions and commute freely but are restricted in their commutability by usage when functioning in their secondary, abstract meaning,´ explains Aisenstadt (1981:58).

3 a grammaticalized, wide and vague meaning

give a laugh/ have a fall

Aisenstadt (1981:59) notes, `This creates a special case where the nominal component can commute with one or more of the verbs used in such a vague meaning that sometimes they become synonymous, which they are not in their other uses. It should be noted that the RC patterns, being restricted by usage, can include from 1 to 10-12 RCs.´

Summary: Restricted Chunks are distinguished by their `lexeme-like´ quality, the specialized senses of the words in the chunks as well as the restricted collocability between the words in the chunks. It has also been shown that some chunks are more restricted than the others. Likewise, the meaning of some chunks may be more specialized than the others as well. The complexity of the issue of idiomaticity is brought to light by the discrepancy between Aisenstadt and Cowie concerning Restricted Chunks. While Aisenstadt considers RCs as `non-idiomatic´ combinations in the English language, Cowie argues to put the more restricted ones in his dictionary of `idiomatic English.´

That Restricted Chunks cause learning problems is obviously reflected in Aisenstadt´s proposal for special treatment of these chunks in dictionaries. Aisenstadt is of the opinion that restricted collocations should be treated systematically in general dictionaries. They should not be just mentioned along with free phrases but should be accorded a special place therein like idioms. Restricted collocations should, if possible, also be the subject of special dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual.

On the other hand, though Cowie admits that Restricted Chunks are not immediately intelligible to the foreign learner, it is not altogether impossible to construe the meaning of the whole collocations as some of the words may keep a familiar sense. For this reason, he suggests that they need not be learned as

integral wholes (Cowie 1978:134). He is of the opinion that only the more restricted ones will pose problems for the learner and they should be learnt as wholes.

Cowie is of course justified in stressing the different degrees of restrictedness among chunks. Nonetheless, his suggestion that the less restricted ones should not be learnt as wholes is arguable. In fact, there is a difference in concern between the linguist and the teacher, which Cowie has failed to recognize. While a linguist is concerned about analysing the difference in restrictions between *explode the myth, entertain the idea* and *foot the bill* etc. the teacher is not. The reality is, the linguist and the teacher are facing different problems. The problem of the linguist is to find a systematic way of analysing the language whereas the problem of the teacher is to find out ways in which these L2 chunks can best be learnt.

As a matter of fact, as far as the L2 learners are concerned, the Restricted Chunks, despite their various degrees of restrictedness, are chunks with words carrying special meanings. If chunks which are considered to be relatively `free' may cause learning difficulties which are generally overlooked let alone the restricted ones.

As Bolinger (1970:78) puts it, a major difficulty of the learner is to direct their effort at `the brute mastery of hundreds of terms for not quite familiar segmentations of reality as it is seen in a culture different from their own.'

It is therefore suggested that all Restricted Chunks should be learnt as wholes irrespective of their relative degree of restrictedness. It may, of course, be helpful to the learners if it can be pointed out to them the possible substitution or transformation with the less restricted chunks.

3.5 Fixed Chunks

Fixed Chunks are chunks which are more or less fixed and generally assumed to be most difficult for the L2 learners because of their obscure meaning and specific usage.

To begin with, it may be useful to look briefly at Zgusta's description of `multiword lexical units'.

3.5.1 Multiword Lexical Units

Zgusta (1967) identifies a kind of `set combinations of words' which he calls `multiword lexical units.' Zgusta (1971:143) explains in a footnote that `Multiword lexical units' are sometimes called *lexemes* or *complex lexemes, lexeme clusters* or *conjuncts, synthemes, locutions*, or in yet other terminologies, *bound syntagmas* etc. Zgusta says, `In a broader conception, multiword lexical unit plus some other "set combinations of words" are frequently called *phrases* or *lexicalized phrases, fixed (or set) collocations, idioms* etc in other terminologies.'

Zgusta (1967&1971) suggests the following 9 criteria to identify multiword lexical units, the first and the ninth being the most important while the rest being less so:

1 It is impossible to substitute a constituent part of a multiword lexical unit without changing the over-all meaning. `If a constituent part of a free combination of words is substituted, the meaning of the whole is only modified insofar as the substitued word has another lexical meaning; if on the other hand a constituent part of a multiword lexical unit is substituted, the over-all meaning of the multiword lexical unit is changed (Zgusta 1967:579).´ Some examples:

(1) guinea pig

(2) Good Day!

(3) cold feet [=to be afraid in]

He will not do it, he´s got cold feet.

(4) give away/give off/give over

2. Sometimes it is impossible to add something to the set combination, e.g. although `black market´ has the same meaning as `illegal market´, (a) and (c) are acceptable but (b) is not:

(a) illegal steel market

(b) *black steel market

(c) black market in steel

3 Very frequently, the meaning of the whole combination is not fully derivable from that of the single parts.

e.g French *pomme de terre* "potato" verbatim: apple of earth

Eng. *to give up* "to stop trying"

Sometimes a constituent part of a multiword lexical unit is semantically depleted e.g French *jeune fille* is not necessarily `young´, as suggested by the meaning of the single words, but `girl´ (of any age, an unmarried woman), as shown by the possibility to say

" *Elle est deja assez agee, elle va rester jeune fille*"

4 A constituent part of a multiword lexical unit may be severely or exclusively restricted to it i.e. it does not occur elsewhere, e.g.

maid [=virgin, unmarried woman]	old maid
fro [=back]	to and fro

5 The multiword lexical unit may have a synonym or near synonym which consists of one word only, e.g.

old maid::spinster

loose woman::prostitute

6 A small group of semantically related expressions may show analogous or identical status of the multiword lexical units on the one hand and the single-word lexical units on the other. e.g.

[American English]

elementary school::high school::college::university

[French]

pomme de terre:radish:betterave

7 A one-word equivalent of a foreign language can indicate that we have a multiword lexical unit before us:

English *guinea pig* =Fr. *cobaye*
Russian *dikaja koza* [verbatim:wild goat] =Eng. *roe*

8 Sometimes the way in which the single constituent parts of a multi-word lexical unit are combined shows some special grammatical properties, e.g.

at hand
by heart

9 Set groups of words e.g proverbs, sayings, dicta, quotations, and similar fossile, *my house my castle* should not be considered multiword lexical units because though it is not possible to substitute a constituent part of it, it is not a Multiword lexical unit because it cannot perform in a sentence (syntagmatically) and in the lexicon, in the lexical stock of language (paradigmaticaly) the same syntactic and onomasiological function as a morphologically more simple lexical unit which frequently coincides with the word (Zgusta 1967:584).

As Zgusta has said, the most distinguishing characteristics of `Multiword lexical unit´ are (1) the unique meaning of the unit as a whole and the impossibility to substitute a constituent part of it, and (2) the whole unit can perform syntactic function in the sentence as a single lexical item.

A careful look of the description of `Multiword Lexical Units´ above has shown that though these units are considered as Fixed Chunks in this section, to a certain extent, there are overlapping areas between Fixed Chunks and the Restrictred Chunks as described in the preceding section. This is not unexpected as the cohesion of the structure of the language is a matter of degree and it is difficult to make clearcut division between the various categories no matter how broad they are. Indeed, this kind of difficulty is demonstrated by Zgusta´s attempt to exclude `idiomatic expressions´ such as *to drop a brick* from `multiword lexical units´ but at the same time admitting that some of the idiomatic expressions `verge on multiword lexical units with a direct meaning´ (Zgust 1971:147).

However, since it is impossible to have a clearcut division between chunks of this nature, in the following discussion the term `Fixed Chunks´ will be used to include not only `multiword lexical units´ and `idiomatic expressions´, but also `set group of words´ such as proverbs, sayings etc. Moreover, in the discussion below, Fixed Chunks will be considered in terms of learning difficulties under the folllowing three broad sub-categories:

1 Semantically Specialized Chunks

2 Pragmatically Specialized Chunks

3 Socio-Cultural Chunks

3.5.2 Semantically Specialized Chunks

As mentioned in Chapter One, Cowie (1988) observes that thousands of word combinations in English survive constant reuse in an unchanged or virtually unchanged form. He then suggests that formal invariance over time is a major factor leading to a gradual reduction in the meaning of component words. Following Mitchell (1971), he calls these combinations `composites´ and defines `composites´ as follows (Cowie 1988:134):

> `word combinations, more or less invariable in form and more or less unitary in meaning, which function as constituents of sentences (as objects, complements, adjuncts, and so on) and contribute to their referential, or propositional meaning. They are lexical building-blocks comparable in their syntactic functions to nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs.´

For example, the idiom *a dry run* can function as a noun in that it can be the subject or object of a verb and it can also be the object of a preposition (Cowie 1988:135):

A dry run has been organized for later that week.

We´ve just completed *a dry run*.

There was no more talk of *a dry run*.

Cowie remarks, `The reduction in meaning in the composites is accompanied by meaning change, which may eventually lead to "petrification", a state in which the evolved meaning of the whole is no longer traceable to the original meanings of the parts (Cowie 1988:135).' For instance, *blow the gaff* and *spill the beans* have undergone petrification and are idioms in the strict sense. As Cowie puts it, `these pure idioms form the end-point of a process by which word-combinations first establish themselves through constant re-use, then undergo figurative entension and finally petrify or congeal (Cowie et al 1983:xii).'

Nevertheless, Cowie (1988:135) also observes that `at any one time a language such as English will include very many semantically evolved composites which are still partially analysable.' He explains, `Semantic change in the composites often takes the form of figurative extension as in the case of *stop the rot* and a considerable number now have figurative senses (in terms of the whole combination in each case) while preserving a current literal interpretation. Among such "figurative idioms" *do a U-turn*, *close ranks* and *mark time*. That this group merges into the category of "pure" idioms is shown by such examples as *beat one's breast* and *stop the rot*.' Cowie remarks, `The literal senses of these idioms do not survive alongside their figurative ones in normal, everyday use and for some speakers they may indeed be unrelatable (Cowie 1988:135).' Cowie therefore advocates `a broader spectrum of composites'.

In fact, Cowie's discussion of `pure idiom' and `figurative idioms' is consistent with Lyons' observation of the processes of semantic change such as `generalization' and `specialization' which have already been discussed in detail in chapter One and will not be repeated here.

Regarding the learning difficulty of this kind of chunks, Cowie is of the opinion that the syntactic restrictions which apply to individual composites have to be acquired with other peculiarities of form or meaning, by native speakers and foreign learners alike (Cowie 1988:135).

In brief, Semantically Specialized or Idiomatic Chunks are more or less fixed in form and obscure in meaning and even native speakers of the language may have difficulty in using them let alone the L2 learners.

3.5.3 Pragmatically Specialized Chunks

In this section, discussion will concentrate on another category of Fixed Chunks generally known as `formulae'. Like Idiomatic Chunks, formulae do not have a meaning which can be clearly derived from those of their constituents. However, unlike Idiomatic Chunks which are `semantically specialized', formulae are `pragmatically specialized (Leech 1983:28)' (Cowie 1988:132).

As has already been discussed in the last Chapter, this kind of `prefabs´ are closely related to the situations in which they are used and have both the advantage of more efficient retrieval, and of permitting speakers to direct attention to the larger structure of the discourse, rather than keeping it focused narrowly on individual words as they are produced.

Generally speaking, most of the discussions on formulae emphasize the functions they serve particularly in discourse. As Cowie (1988:133) says, `This category has come into prominence quite recently, chiefly through research into discourse structure, both in Europe and the United States (Alexander 1978; Coulmas 1979, 1981; Keller 1979; Yorio 1980).´ Moreover, `the more recent work focuses on fixed or relatively fixed expressions used to perform such speech-act functions as greetings, compliments and invitations, but also considers units employed in organizing turn-taking, indicating a speaker´s attitude to other participants, and generally ensuring the smooth conduct of interaction.´

For example, speakers use a wide range of expressions to regulate spoken communication. The following are some examples of `communication contral signals´ (Keller 1979:229) as reported by Cowie:

Are you following me?

Is that clear?

Pardon me

Would you mind repeating that?

Cowie (1988:133&134) puts forward two comments on the nature of expressions used in a discourse function:

1 Pragmatic specialization is a matter of degree. `Though these particular "gambits" (Keller's preferred term) are perfectly familiar.....they mostly lack the "fixity of form" which was a precondition of complete specialization in a given discourse function.' For example, by comparision, (2) below is `invariable and a functional stereotype' but (1) is not:

(1) Are you following me?

(2) You say that again

It is because (1) is capable of being used in a larger construction and contributing to its referential meaning as shown in (3) below:

(3) `I'm not at all sure you're following me.'

2 There is a great diversity of grammatical patterns spanned by expressions used as discourse-structuring devices or as realizations of particular speech-act function. These expressions may be in the form of sentences as shown in the examples above or, they may be grammatically incomplete, e.g.

I went to see father at 11 o'clock this morning.

Do you know, he was still in bed!

Referring to the above example, Cowie says, `routine formula´ (Coulmas 1981) which serves to introduce or round off a larger grammatical unit which is not itself fixed or specialized introduces a statement and signals that it will cause some surprise, especially in relation to facts which have been established earlier (Cowie 1988:134).´

As regards the difficulty involved in using this kind of units, Cowie remarks, `In order to use this formula successfully, the speaker requires knowledge of invariant form, syntactic position (initial rather than final) and intonation (fall-rise on *know*).´ Moreover, `whilst the precise content of the final statement is contextually determined the element of surprise is not (Cowie 1988:134).´

As a matter of fact, in the discussion of the `ready-made utterances´, which are completely fixed and the `schemata´, which are semi-fixed, Lyons has pointed out that these structures are `situationally bound´ and are learnt as `unanalysed wholes´ by the speakers of the language. As Lyons´s discussion has already been reviewed in Chapter Two, it will not be repeated here.

In summary, the chunks discussed in this section are closely related to the speech habits of the native speaker of the language. Structurally, pragmaticalized chunks may be completely fixed or half fixed, and as they are situationally bound, their meanings are determined by the situation in which they are used. Since they are learnt as wholes by the native speaker, it goes

without saying that they should also be learnt as integrated wholes by L2 learners. In fact, L2 learners will have greater difficulty in pragmatically specialized chunks because living in the L1 speech community, they are virtually deprived of the chance to get themselves familiar with the pragmatic rules of the second language. Given that these expressions make up a by no means negligible share of the learning load of the L2, the need to to look for more efficient ways of learning them is pretty urgent.

3.5.4 Social-Cultural Chunks

Social-Cultural Chunks are those chunks which are particularly difficult to L2 learners whose knowledge about the society and culture of the L2 speakers is far from adequate.

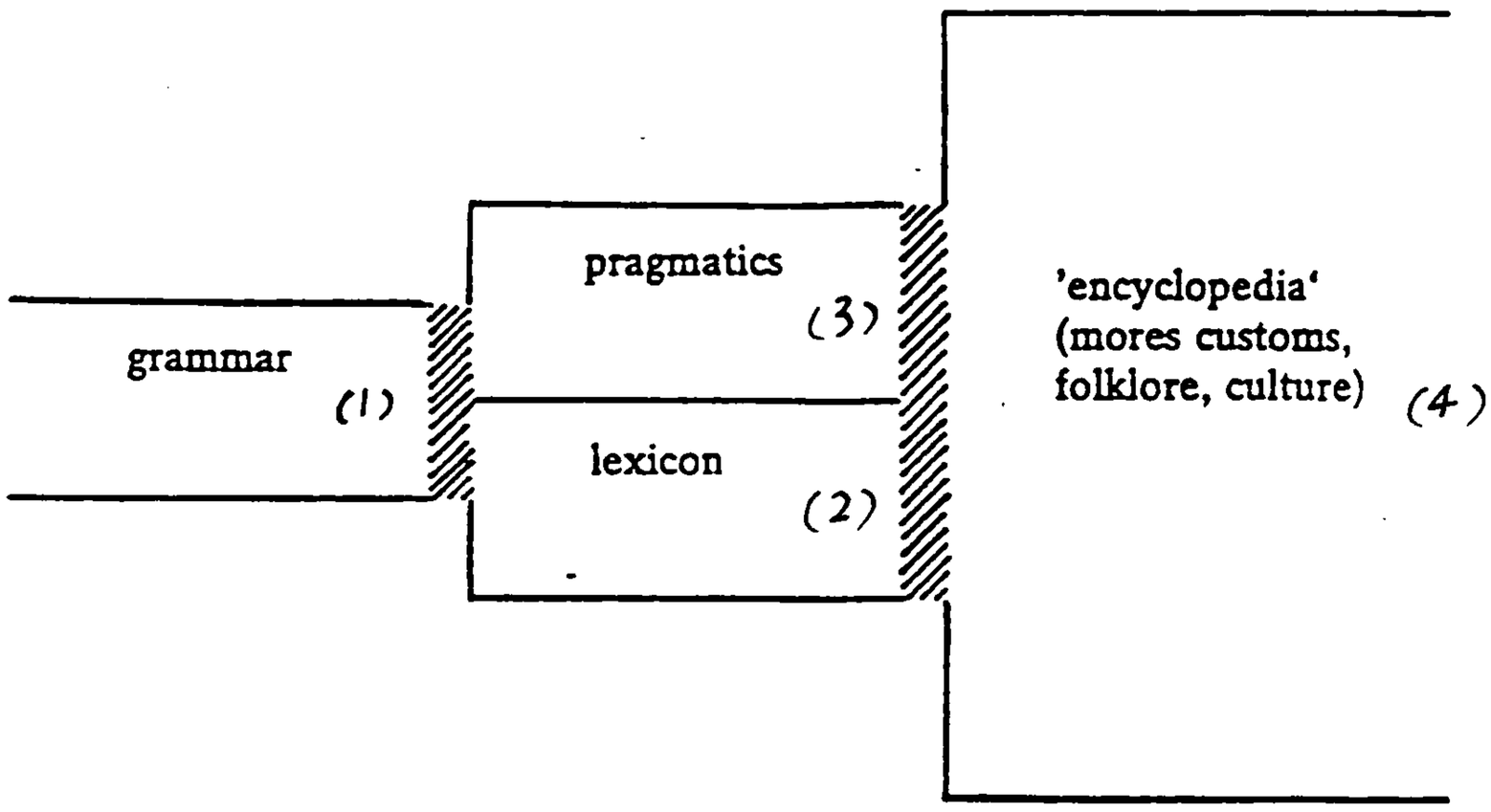
The relationship between culture and vocabulary is like two sides of the same coin. As Lyons (1968:432) says, `The lexical distinctions drawn by each language will tend to reflect the culturally-important features of objects, institutions and activities in the society, in which the language operates.´

In his investigation into the co-occurrences in American cliches, Croft (1967:47) also notes, `Actually, hardly anything in the language-learning situation can be said to be purely linguistic, divorced completely from the "cultural" side. Most of the time there seems to be simply a stronger tendency in one direction or the other - more toward the linguistic on the one hand or more toward the "cultural" on the other.´

Similarly, Cowie (1978:134) demonstrates the 'situational constraint' with the following example, 'Consider *a tea/dinner service of 50 pieces*, where it seems evident that restriction on the number of items (*tea, dinner, breakfast, ?luncheon*) that can acceptably combine with *service* hinges on such cultural factors as which of these meals it is customary to serve, and whether it is conventional to have separate sets of dishes and plates for each.' Cowie further remarks, 'limited collocability arising from such factors is of course equally baffling for the foreign learner.'

However, it is Alexander who has made further exploration into this area. For Alexander, competence in a language includes social cultural competence. 'Certainly understanding of such proverbial phrases as *cutting off one's nose to spite one's face* or catch phrases like *he's seen something nasty in the woodshed* is deeply embedded in British social, literary and cultural history (Alexander 1978:179).'

Alexander therefore repeatedly claims that knowledge of the fixed expressions of the language includes both linguistic and 'encyclopedic' knowledge. Alexander (1979:193) illustrates the relationship between 'encyclopedic' knowledge (including cultural facts etc.) and language knowledge in the following diagram:



Linguistic Competence and Socio-Cultural Knowledge: The Points of Interaction

With regard to the above diagram, Alexander says, `it is in the interplay between the pragmatic, the dictionary and the encyclopedia *as well as* the "grammar" of a given language-culture that communicative competence is realized.´ Moreover, he emphasizes the permeability (shaded areas in the diagram above) between the areas of the language system and the encyclopedia.

Alexander (1987:193) claims that the native speaker possesses the knowledge of components (1+2+3+4) and he hypothesizes the following:

1 L2 learners who have mastery of (1) alone is going to be inadequately equipped to read L2 literature.

2 L2 learners who have (1) and (2) do not necessarily possess sufficient competence to `perform´ successfully in communicative interaction through the media of the L2, it may not be enough to transfer the L1 pragmatics to the L2, for instance.

3 L2 Learners with (1)+(2)+(4) will find it easier to read fictional literature.

Finally, Alexander insists that native-command of English requires the knowledge of (1)+(2)+(3)+(4).

While Alexander is cautious (and justified as well) in emphasizing the `permeability´ between `encyclopedic knowledge´ and linguistic knowledge, it is somewhat surprising that he has not considered the combination (1+2+3) which may be of great relevance to the majority of L2 learners who do not have any intention to study the literature of the language but who want to acquire the ability to speak fluently in the L2. This slippage may be due to the fact that his main concern is the advanced learners.

Recently, Alexander (1989) has explored the `social cultural´ aspects of collocations. Though Alexander concentrates on `lexical collocations´ only, his discussion is relevant to Restricted Chunks in general and it is worthwhile going into further detail.

Regarding the social aspect of collocations, Alexander is of the contention that `all instances of lexicalisation go hand in hand with conceptualisation.´ He notes the importance of the `temperal dimension´ of collocations, `Wording, words, and groups of word reflect the experience of a speech community, and to the extent that this experience changes, so will lexical collocations come and go.....some phrases date fast, and

collocations may be old, obsolescent or novel (Alexander 1989:18).' The collocation `child abuser' for instance may be considered as an example of `collocations of the month'.

As for the cultural aspect of collocation, Alexander remarks, `By virtue of acquiring the syntax, phonology and meaning system of L2, we are channelled into thinking or perceiving certain aspects of the world and culture surrounding us in a way that is performed by that language. Learners may come to employ notions that are prejudged by the language, or rather by the speech community that uses that language (Alexander 1989:18).'

For Alexander, the `socio-cultural' dimension of language `governs what comes to be lexicalised in the first place, and hence what is available to speakers of a language.' The implication for learning is that the learners are `constantly being confronted with instances of lexicalisation which cannot be interpreted on the basis of linguistic knowledge, or even real-world knowledge alone' (Alexander 1989:18).

Alexander ascribes this kind of difficulty to `differential expectancies', `Familarity with the likelihood of particular words co-occurrence is built into the native speaker's intuition. This means that learners have to learn these co-occurrences (Alexander 1989:18).' He then suggests a `social-cultural approach' to collocation which takes the learner's L1 as the starting point to predict the difficulty of the learners. Alexander says,

`Here we address the following questions: Which social institutions, cultural practices, technological proceses/practices, artefacts, everyday behaviour patterns, commercial arrangements, industrial structures, workhabits, consumer behaviour/expectations are different from the vantage point of the native language/socio-cultural system, and hence likely to be differentially coded in the target language. "Differentially coded" is an umbrella term which covers a wide range of phenomena: lexical gaps, additions, refinements, syntacticization vs lexicalization, etc (Alexander 1989:19).'

He gives some examples of areas which tend to be differentially coded by English and German as follows (Alexander 1989:19):

A+N: golden handshake, voluntary retirement, tough line, leaked proposals.

N+N: longtime solutions, consensus approach, bottom line, question time, enterprise culture

Alexander remarks, `A few of these expressions come from an area of concern which is currently not conceptualized or even lexicalised in German higher education. While there are no "Thatcherite cuts", there have been other attacks on the universities, and certainly the status of universities is different. Of course, there may well be analagous areas of

interest in two socio-cultural systems as well, but the interpretation of such collocations may presuppose background knowledge (Alexander 1989:20,21).'

As cultural constraint, like linguistic restriction, may also be a matter of degree, Alexander postulates different degrees of culturally specific collocations, ranging from the `universal' i.e. easily translatable into a related or neighbouring culture, to the `specific' i.e. having no equivalent in the L1 of the learner of English, or unlikely to be used in communication in the L1. For example, the word *finger*:

specific collocations:	*point two fingers at someone*
`in between' collocations:	*pull one's finger out,*
	green fingers
universal collocations:	*little finger, ring finger,*
	index finger

As far as teaching is concerned, Alexander suggests, `teachers will need to be informed about the scope of both collocational configurations and fixed expression categories.' Moreover, `they will need to encourage learners to recognise fixed expressions, idioms and collocations as chunks. They will need to help them in dealing with them as wholes, and not as isolatable building blocks that can be reconstituted'.

Furthermore, he emphasizes the need for reference books dealing explicitly with background e.g. Room (1986), Partridge (1985) and dictionaries of proverbs etc. (Alexander 1989:22).

While Alexander (1989:20) is justified in highlighting the socio-cultural aspect of chunks and in reminding language teachers of its significance, he seems to be mainly concerned about the advanced learners. However, the more one makes investigation into the various aspects of chunks, the more obvious it has become that the acquisition of chunks is a long-term process. That is to say, the learning of chunks is important to learners at all stages, be it elementary, intermediate or advanced. Moreover, it seems that a difference should be made between native-like competence and communicative competence. Firstly, it is doubtful whether native-like proficiency could be achieved in a situation where the learners learn the L2 in an L1 environment and where most of the language teachers do not use the L2 themselves. Secondly, whether in the learning of the L2 learners should finally behave (think and feel) like the L2 users and/or whether they should learn the L2 to express their own feelings which are closely associated with their own social and cultural background is a more controversial issue which the teachers have to address. Nevertheless, Alexander is sufficiently observant in bringing out the concept of 'differential codifiability', which will be particularly helpful to teaching situations where the distance between the two languages is relatively remote.

3.5.5 Lexical Phrases

Having discussed the three kinds of Fixed Chunks in detail, this may be an appropriate place to look briefly at the various categories of `lexical phrases´ which are suggested by Nattinger for teaching purposes in particular. As a matter of fact, the `lexical phrases´ are related to both the categories of Restricted Chunks and Fixed Chunks discussed above.

In brief, based on research in natural language processing, Nattinger sees language use as basically `a "compositional" process, one of "stitching together" preassembled phrases into discourse.´ Nattinger indentifies the following six types of `lexical phrases´ with reference to their `functional´ and `structural´ characteristics (Nattinger 1980, Nattinger 1988, Nattinger & Decarrico 1989):

1 Polywords: short, fixed phrases, whose meanings are often not analysable by the regular rules of syntax. Moreover, they can be substituted by single words, e.g.

idioms e.g. *kick the bucket*

euphemisms *e.g. powder room*

slang e.g. better half

two- and three-part verbs e.g. put up, put up with

2 Phrasal constraints: short, relatively fixed phrases with slots that permit some variation, e.g.

greetings e.g how do you do

partings e.g see you later

exclamations e.g. you can´t be serious!

insults e.g. you creep

3 Deictic locutions: short to medium length phrases of low variability, consisting of clauses or entire utterances. They are essentially monitoring devices, whose purpose is:

a> to direct the flow of conversation e.g.

as far as I know, don´t you think, if I were you

b> to exercise social control e.g.

hey, wait a minute, now look, see here

4 Sentence builders: phrases up to sentence length, highly variable, containing slots for parameters or arguments e.g.

not only..but also..; if I..,then I ...

5 Situational utterances: usually complete sentences, amendable to the regular rule of syntax and highly dependent on the social context, e.g.

greetings e.g. how are you today?

partings e.g. I´ll see you next week

politeness routines e.g. thanks very much for

questions e.g. could you tell me

social maintenance e.g. what´s new? cold enough for you?

6 Verbatim texts: entire texts of different lengths with extremely low variability e.g.

memorized sequences e.g. numbers, the days of the week
aphorisms e.g. the public seldom forgives twice
proverbs e.g. a rolling stone gathers no moss

Nattinger remarks, `This category includes all of those chunks that a speaker has found efficient to store as units. Some of these may be general units, used by everyone in the speech community, while others may be more idiosyncratic, phrases that an individual has stored because they have been found an efficient and pleasing way of getting an idea across (Nattinger 1988:77).´

In a nutshell, the 6 kinds of `lexical phrases´ include structures of the word, phrase and sentence levels. Moreover, most of the `lexical phrases´ function in discourse whereas what is generally known as grammatical and lexical collocations are largely excluded.

3.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter is to make a classification of chunks, no matter how broad it is, from a pedagogic perspective based on the idiomatic view of language which sees a dynamic and fluid continuum between syntax and morphology. The umbrella term `chunks´ has been introduced to include the various kinds of

`prefabs' along this continuum. Chunks are then classified very roughly into Free Chunks, Restricted Chunks and Fixed Chunks according to the nature of the learning difficulty involved.

It has been found that though Free Chunks are generally assumed to be easy to learn as their meanings are relatively transparent, they might still cause learning difficulties because of the different range of collocability of words between different languages and because of social and cultural factors. It has been suggested that they should be learnt as wholes. With regard to Restricted Chunks, though there may be different degrees of restrictedness in this category of Chunks, the category as a whole is considered difficult for the learners because of the specific meanings conveyed by the word components in the chunks and the limited collocability of the words in the chunks. It is therefore suggested that the entire category should best be learnt as wholes irrespective of the relative degree of restriction.

As far as Fixed Chunks are concerned, they include Semantically Specialized Chunks which have undergone a reduction in meaning or have a figurative meaning, Pragmaticalized Chunks which have lost their meaning and come to serve a certain discourse function and Social Cultural Chunks which are closely associated with the social and cultural life of the native speaker of the language. In brief, the grammatical structures of these Fixed Chunks may range from the fixed to the semi-fixed and the meanings of these chunks may range from the opaque to the semi-opaque. Besides the obscurity in meaning, one of the major

difficulties concerning Fixed Chunks is that a considerable number of them are situationally bound, especially the Pragmaticalized Chunks and the Social Cultural Chunks. Since the native speaker learns them as unanalysed wholes, it is justifiable that they should also be learnt as integrated wholes by the L2 learners.

3.7 The Term `Chunks´

Before ending this chapter, this may be an appropriate place to describe `chunks´ in greater detail. The term `chunks´ is a hold-all term for a meaningful combination of words. It is a unit larger than the word and can even be as large as a sentence. The meaning of a chunk may be determined by the key word in the chunk and/or the company the word keeps and/or the chunk as an integrated whole. That is to say, the meaning of a chunk may be transparent, semi-opaque or opaque. On the other hand, the collocability restriction of the words in a chunk may be loose, relatively fixed or entirely fixed. As far as the grammatical structure of the chunk is concerned, it may be regular or irregular. Furthermore, a considerable number of chunks are closely related to the social life and culture of the native speaker of the language, which may be described as `specific´ or `universal.´ It has been suggested that a chunk may be described in respect of any or all of the above mentioned dimensions i.e. semantic, lexical, grammatical and cultural. In addition, it is important to point out that chunks may be used both in sentences and in discourse.

The investigation in this chapter has demonstrated that the entire area of chunks abounds in fuzzy edges. Not only that it may sometimes be difficult to distinguish Chunks from Non-chunks, it may also be difficult to make clearcut divisions between the various categories of Chunks discussed above. However, it is believed that from a pedagogic perspective, the fuzzy boundary between these Chunks is not as important as the fact that these Chunks should be learnt and retrieved as wholes. It is obvious that combinations such as `collocations´, `idioms´, `proverbs´, `cliches´ etc are Chunks of the language. However, it is suggested that as long as a combination of words makes a meaningful unit and as long as this combination may cause difficulty to the L2 learners for whatever reasons, such a combination of words should best be regarded as a Chunk and learnt as such irrespective of the linguistic elements involved. The point is, it is only when the important role of Chunks in the language is properly recognised and when Chunks are regarded as one of the main focuses of vocabulary teaching can the learners possibly achieve a high degree of L2 competence.

Chapter 4

Delexical Verbs

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, the linguistic properties of **Chunks** have been examined and their categories discussed. Moreover, the position of chunks in the language and their psychological reality in the processing of speech have also been investigated. This dissertation will make a particular study of the English verb **MAKE** firstly from the theoretical point of view and secondly on the basis of a corpus of the modern English language. Nevertheless, in order to put this verb in a wider context, the study will begin with a brief review of **Delexical Verbs** in this chapter on the ground that the verb MAKE is a typical member of this family of verbs, all of which share a common delexical use.

It has, however, to be made absolutely clear from the start that there are two uses of the term `delexical verbs'. The first is the restricted use i.e. a group of verbs in their delexical modes and the second is the same verbs loosely called delexical verbs in all their modes. It is the latter that the study is about. That is to say, the study will look into all kinds of relations the verb MAKE enters into, including, and in particular, the aspect of delexicality, the phenomenon this chapter will examine in detail.

4.2 The Verb+Object Combinations

The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) (henceforth OED), which arranges the meanings of lexical items with as strict a regard as possible for their appearance in order of time, has reported a special kind of Verb+Object combinations of the verb MAKE under one of the broad categories of meanings `**To do, perform, accomplish**´:

`With sbs. [substantive] expressing the action of vbs. [verbs] (whether etymologically cognate or not), *make* forms innumerable phrases approximately equivalent in sense to those verbs (OED 1989:241)´: For example,

make note [=note]

Regarding the status of the verb in this kind of Verb+Object combination, OED remarks, `When standing alone, the combination of *make* with its object is equivalent to a verb used *intr.* [intransiviely] or *absol.* [absolutely].´ OED also notes that `in many instances the obj.-noun admits or requires construction with *of*, and this addition converts the phrase into the equivalent of a transitive verb.´ For example,

make note of what he said [=note what he said]

That this particular kind of usage has a long history is confirmed by the list of examples of obsolete uses dating back to as early as the year 1154 in OED.

On the other hand, the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987) (henceforce CCELD), which is not a historical dictionary like OED but which is concerned about what the language is like at the present time, has arranged the various senses of lexical items according to the criteria of frequency, independence of meaning and concreteness. In this dictionary, the following usage of the verb MAKE has been described first of all, indicating that this usage is of the most frequent one:

`It is often used in expressions where it does not have a very distinct meaning of its own but where most of the meaning is in the noun that follows it (CCELD:887).´

The same distinguishing syntactic and semantic characteristics of this special kind of V+O combinations of the verb MAKE are also found in other delexical verbs such as `give´ and `take´.

4.3 The Feature of Delexicality

Indeed, in a discussion on the need for a lexical syllabus for language learning, Sinclair & Renouf (1988:153) claim, `a major feature of the language is "**delexicality**", the tendency of certain commoner transitive verbs to carry particular nouns or adjectives which can in most cases themselves be transitive verbs.´ They then explain, `In general, the more frequent a word is, the less independent meaning it has, because it is likely to be acting in conjunction with other words, making useful

structures or contributing to familiar idiomatic phrases.' The delexical feature, therefore, is associated with some verbs which are frequently used in the language.

This delexical use may have become a dominant feature in the language, `Textual evidence now shows us the extent to which the phenomenon of delexicality occurs. The primary function of *make*, for example, is to carry nouns like *decisions, discoveries, arrangements*, thereby offering the alternative phraseology `*make your own decision*' to *"decide on something"; "make her travel arrangements"* to *"arrange her travel"* and so on (Sinclair &Renouf 1988:153).' They remark, `which of the two formulations to choose is obviously a strategic matter in text creation, but the delexical option is firmly there.'

Indeed, the Collins Cobuild English Grammar (Sinclair et al 1990) (henceforth CCEG), which is based on the extensive Birmingham Collection of English texts and takes a functional view in the description of grammar, has established an independent class of Transitive Verbs known as `**Delexical Verbs**', which are defined as `a number of very common verbs which are used with nouns as their Objects to indicate simply that someone performs an action, not that someone affects or creates something. These verbs have very little meaning when they are used in this way.' Moreover, CCEG names `the structure which consists of a Delexical Verb followed by a noun group' a `**delexical structure**'. Some typical examples of Delexical Verbs

are: `**give**´, `**have**´, `**make**´, `**take**´, `**do**´, `**hold**´, `**keep**´, `**set**´ with the first four being the most common of all. The following is an examination of delexical verbs in greater detail.

4.4 The Syntax of the Delexical Structure

The delexical structure, as shown above, may be realized by a two-word combination which is made up of a Verb and the collocating Noun.

Regarding the **nominal component**, OED has made a note thereon, `In some of these phrases [of MAKE] the obj.[object]-noun appears always without qualifying word; in others it may be preceded by the indefinite article, or by a possessive adj.[adjective] relative to the subject of the sentence.´

Similarly, as already mentioned in the last chapter, in the discussion on **restricted collocations**, Aisenstadt (1981:56) identifies one kind of Verb+Object combinations formed by `one of the verbs "give, have, make, take" with a deverbal noun mostly in the singular and preceded by the indefinite article.´

CCEG (Sinclair et al 1990:148), however, reports that not only singular nouns but also plural nouns are found after Delexical Verbs e.g.

She <u>took little ladylike sips</u> of the cold drink.

He <u>took photographs</u> of Vita in her summer house.

The newspaper had <u>made disparaging remarks</u> about his wife.

In some cases, uncountable nouns are also spotted:

We <u>have made progress</u> in both science and art.

Cal <u>took charge</u> of this side of their education.

On the other hand, A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (Quirk et al 1985) (henceforth CGEL) notes that while some object-nouns are derived from verbs and therefore give rise to the name `deverbal nouns´ e.g. make an accusation (against)/ accuse, make a recommendation (that)/recommend etc. some nouns are not derived from verbs e.g.

make an effort

do one´s homework

have a game

have a haircut

make fun (of)

make peace (with)

Regarding the **verbs** which correspond to the deverbal nouns, CCEG (Sinclair et al 1990:146) says that though some of them are Transitive e.g.

He <u>gave a little sniff</u>

I <u>sniffed the room</u>

most of them are often found to be Intransitive e.g.

She made a signal

She signalled for a taxi

A couple were having a drink at a table by the window

A few students were drinking at the bar

She gave an amused laugh

They both laughed

The following will concentrate on the meaning of the delexical structure.

4.5 The Semantics of the Delexical Structure

CGEL discusses the meaning of this special kind of combinations from the view of the semantic role of the **Eventive Object**: `A frequent type of object generally takes the form of a deverbal noun preceded by a common verb of general meaning, such as *do, give, have, make, take*. This EVENTIVE object is semantically an extension of the verb and bears the major part of the meaning (Quirk et al 1985:750).´ For example,

They *are arguing*. [verb only]

They *are having an argument*. [verb+eventive object]

On the other hand, the loss of meaning in the verb components of this special kind of combinations has also been discussed in Aisenstadt (1978,1981) as mentioned earlier. In this kind of `restricted collocations´, he says, only one of the components is

restricted in commutability i.e. the nominal component. Moreover, the noun in such collocations might be restricted to more than one collocating verb:

make/take	a move
give/have	a laugh
have/take/give	a look

The verbs in these combinations have `a rather wide and vague meaning and collocate with many different nouns'. Indeed, `the verb is to a certain extent grammaticalized and has a weakened meaning which results in a possible interchange of those verbs otherwise not synonymous at all (Aisenstadt 1981:57).'

CGEL, however, observes that in some cases different Delexical Verbs may give different meanings with the same collocating noun (Quirk et al 1985:752):

She gave a shriek
[an involuntary shriek]

She had a good shriek
[voluntary and for her own enjoyment]

She did a (good) shriek
[a performance before an audience]

CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:752) also has a brief discussion on the semantic role of the **Subject** of the Delexical Verbs. Most of the Subjects in clauses with Eventive objects are agentive i.e. `the animate being instigating or causing the happening denoted by the verb´. Delexical Verbs such as `do´ and `make´ always take an agentive subject e.g.

They made a mess

She did a translation

But some Delexical Verbs e.g. `have´ take Subjects with the semantic role of recipient participant as in

I had a wonderful dream

or the role of experiencer e.g. `take´ as in

Sally took an instant dislike to the new tenant

In some cases, the Subjects have an affected role:

Paul took a fall

The team has taken a beating

At the sudden noise Bob gave a jump.

Referring to the **Objects** of delexical verbs, Moon (1987:94) remarks, `Arguably, the only way to make distinctions in meaning or use within the major delexical verbs, such as *have*, *give*, and

take, is to split according to the type of object collocate.' Moon's observation is based on the data on which the Cobuild Dictionary was compiled.

On the other hand, it may also be appropriate here to look briefly at how Transformational Grammar analyses a sentence with a delexical structure as follows:

She [took note] of what I said [=noted]

Radford (1988) observes a class of Noun Phrases in the English language which are highly restricted in their distribution, in that (in their ***idiomatic*** use) they generally occur only in conjunction with some specific Verbs.

In the above sentence, for example, the NP `note' generally occurs only immediately following the verb `take' in its idiomatic use. Radford classifies this NP as an `idiom chunk NP' because the restriction does not appear to be semantic or pragmatic. He describes the restriction essentially **lexical-syntactic**: i.e. it just happens to be an arbitrary syntactic fact about the distribution of the noun `note' that in contemporary English it is virtually never used in any position save immediately following the verb `take'. (For a more detailed discussion please refer to Radford 1988:422). Thus, Transformational Grammar highlights the restricted distribution of the nominal component in the delexical structures and the idiomatic nature of these structures.

As a matter of fact, CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:750) also points out that the Verb+Deverbal Noun combinations may not have the same meaning as the corresponding verbs alone e.g.

make love (to)
make a difference (to)

Besides, sometimes the combinations may have a passive meaning, particularly with *have*:

I had a fright.
[`I was frightened.´]

He took offence at my remarks.
[`He was offended by my remarks.´]

The issue of idiomaticity has always been a complicated issue. The following is an attempt to discuss the idiomatic status of the delexical structure.

4.6 The Problem of Idiomatic Status

One very obvious problem which has surfaced on various occasions in our discussion so far but which has not been dealt with systematically is the idiomatic status of the delexical structure. As mentioned above, one of the characteristics of the delexical structure is that the verb is used with the following

noun with the result that the meaning of the verb and noun together is equivalent to the meaning of the verb that corresponds to the noun e.g.

to make a pause [=to pause]

Such being the case, the combination `make a pause´ behaves like a one-word lexeme. Indeed, it is almost semantically identical with a single lexical word. This semantic unity may thus be regarded as a condition which contributes to the idiomatic status of the delexical structure as a whole. However, opinions concerning the idiomatic status of the delexical structure vary quite considerably.

On the one hand, though Aisenstadt has noted the `weakened´ meaning of the verb owing to the restricted commutability of the noun, his opinion is that this kind of V+O collocations are `restricted collocations´ and all restricted collocations are `non-idiomatic´ in the sense that they cannot form one semantic unit i.e. their meaning is made up as the sum of the meanings of their constituents (Aisenstadt 1979:71).

Transformational Grammar, however, describes the NPs which are restricted in their distribution as `idiom chunk NPs´ and emphasizes their `idiomatic use´ e.g. take note (of). Similarly, in the discussion of Delexical Verbs, Sinclair & Renouf (1988:153) describe the delexical structures such as *give a look/information/advice; have a good look/minor doubts/a deep longing* as `idiomatic phrases´.

As has also been mentioned above, CGEL points out that some object nouns may not have corresponding verbs i.e. the V+O combinations cannot be substituted by single word lexical items and, on the other hand, some combinations may not have the same meaning as the verb alone i.e. some V+O combinations may be more idiomatic than the others.

What makes matters more complicated is the role of the prepositional phrase which follows the delexical structure. As a matter of fact, from some of the examples above, it is quite obvious that the delexical structures are often followed by specific Prepositions which are in turn followed by the Prepositional Objects forming V+N+P+N structures in which the V+N+P are generally assumed to be `idiomatic´ expressions e.g. `take note of´, `make a difference to´ etc.

Though idiomaticity is a very complicated issue, it can nevertheless be safely assumed that idiomaticity is a matter of degree. That is to say, idiomaticity is not a matter of either or, but a matter of more or less. For example, the meaning of `make a start´ is obviously more transparent than `make a difference (to)´, both of which are delexical structures.

The term `**Delexical Chunks**´ is therefore introduced in this thesis to include at least the following two kinds of structures which may be of various degrees of idiomaticity i.e. from the most idiomatic to the least idiomatic:

(1) V+O

(2) V+O+P+O

In (2) above, the first Object is the Object of the verb and the second is the Object of the Preposition. Delexical chunks, however, are also realized by structural patterns other than the preceding two e.g. V+Adj and they will be discussed in due course.

4.7 The Usage of Delexical Verbs

CCEG (Sinclair et al 1990:148) states that `one difference in meaning between using a delexical structure and a verb with a similar meaning is that the delexical structure can give the impression that the event you are describing is brief.´ e.g.

She gave a shout of triumph/ a laugh/a sigh of relief.

`Another reason for choosing a delexical structure is that you can add further details about the event by using adjectives in front of the noun, rather than by using adverbs. It is more common, for example, to say "He gave a quick furtive glance round the room" than to say "He glanced quickly and furtively round the room", the latter of which is felt to be rather clumsy and unnatural.´ Hereunder are two more examples in this respect:

He gave a long lecture about Roosevelt

Benn made a sincere personal appeal to the Committee

Thirdly, the use of the delexical structures contributes considerably to the fluency in speech, `Delexical structures are very common in current English. Although the total number of delexical verbs is small, they include some of the very commonest words in the language. Delexical structures contribute to the impression of fluency in English given by a foreign user (Sinclair et al 1990:147).'

In fact, the relationship between delexical structures and speech has been noted by other linguists as well. For example, in his discussion of the stylistic preference for restricted collocations, Aisenstadt is of the opinion that while some restricted collocations are used in formal English, the verb+deverbal noun collocations belong to the `neutral' layer of the vocabulary and are mainly colloquial (Aisenstadt 1979:74).

4.8 The Structural Compensation Device

However, it is CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1355-1418) that has advanced a detailed explanation of why the delexical structure is so frequently used in the English language: it is used as a `structural compensation device.' The following is a brief report thereof.

CGEL looks upon the construction of a sentence from the viewpoint of constructing a message. `This means studying the devices by which we lead our hearer/reader to recognize unmistakably the piece of information that we see as the highpoint of our message, at the same time providing enough

additional material to ensure that the message is complete (Quirk et al 1985:1355).´ Moreover, CGEL considers intonation and other prosodic features, lexical choice and grammatical organization as playing an important role in the processing and receiving of information.

Two principles have accordingly been introduced. They are the organization principle of `End-Weight´ and the principle of `End Focus.´

First, in the light of the principle of End-Weight, consider the following conversations:

A: When shall we know what Mary is going to do?´

B: She will decide *next week*

Viewed from the perspective of information processing and receiving, the unitalicized portion in the reply of Speaker B above repeats material from the question while the italicized portion presents the main point of the message and the entirely new information. `It seems natural to place the new information after providing a context of given information, so we can regard *focus* (i.e. the new information) as most neutrally and normally placed at the end of the information unit (Quirk et al 1985:1361).´ In addition, `since the new information often needs to be stated more fully than the given (that is, with a longer, "heavier" structure), it is not unexpected that an organization principle which may be called End-Weight comes into operation (Quirk et al 1985:1362).´ For example,

She visited him that very day.

She visited her best friend that very day.

She visited that very day an elderly and much beloved friend.

Coming along with the organization principle of End-Weight is the principle of End-Focus in Communicative dynamism. Communicative dynamism refers to `the variation in communicative value as between different parts of an utterance (Quick et al 1985:1365).' The utterance given earlier is repeated below for demonstration:

She will decide next week

The above example is delivered with sequentially increasing prominence. `The theme (i.e. the first element of a clause) *she* would be uttered without emphasis, the verb phrase *will decide* is given somewhat more prominence...but the main prominence is given to the time adjunct, *next week*, and this prominence is conveyed by the intonation nucleus on the head noun *week* (Quirk et al 1985:1356).' This is because `the S conveyed least information, the V rather more (for it is not entirely predictable) and the A conveying most.' CGEL describes a TONE UNIT as `a stretch of speech containing one intonation nucleus, and since each such nucleus serves to highlight a piece of information, it follows that a tone unit is coextensive with an INFORMATION UNIT (Quirk et al 1985:1356).' CGEL also observes that `it is common to

process the information in a message so as to achieve a linear presentation from low to high information value i.e. the principle of END-FOCUS (Quirk et al 1356).'

These dual principles of End-Weight concerning old and new information and the principle of End-Focus concerning low and high prosodic prominence in fact operate hand in hand. The end-product of these two principles is the need for a `**structural compensation device**´ (Quirk et al 1985:1401). It is this idea of structural compensation device that helps to explain the use of the delexical chunks.

The fact is, `the operation of these two principles makes the simple realization of the SV clause type sound oddly incomplete´ e.g.

Mary SANG

My friend COOKED

As a result, `this type of SV realization is rather rare and it would be more usual to find an optional predication adjunct´: e.g.

Mary sang for hours

My friend cooked enthusiastically.

`At the very least, we would make intransitive verbs bipartite, an auxiliary serving as a transition between theme and focus´ e.g.

Mary was SINGing

My friend would COOK

However, CGEL observes that `such rephrasing is obviously context-dependent...Other means have therefore had to be devised for "**stretching**" the predicate into **a multi-word structure**. One of the most generally serviceable (though it tends to be rather informal in tone) is to **replace the intransitive verb by a transitive one of very general meaning, taking as its eventive object a nominalization of the intransitive item**. The general verbs *do, make, give, have, take* are widely used in this construction, though the choice is strictly limited in any individual cases (Quirk et al 1985:1401)´. Some examples of this kind of `stretching devices´ are:

solve	[find a solution]
agree	[reach (come to) an agreement]
apply	[submit an application]
suggest	[offer (make) a suggestion]
permit	[grant (give) permission]
attend	[pay attention]

So, the preference for the use of delexical structure may be explained as a device in the English speech community to make a structural compensation in the language in accordance with the principles of End-Weight and End-Focus. Following these two principles, the delexical structure V+O is an information unit and since the nominal component in this information unit gives

new information, it will be given greater prosodic prominence. Focus is therefore naturally on the noun phrases of such combinations the restricted collocability of which creates the combinations. On the other hand, the `lengthening´ of the structure from SV to SVO has somehow weakened the meaning of the verbal component with the result that most of the meaning of the V+O combination is with the Object when the status of the verb changes from Intransitive to Transtive e.g. walk/ take a walk.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has given a very detailed description of the linguistic properties of Delexical Verbs in general including the syntactic and semantic aspects of the delexical structure. The term `delexical chunks´ has been introduced to describe delexical structures of various grammatical patterns. The idiomatic status of delexical chunks has also been reviewed. More importantly, the usage of delexical chunks in communication has been looked at from the point of view of information processing.

Two points may be made from the perspective of Second Language Learning. If structural compensation is an essential feature in the speech of the English speaking community, it can be predicted that second language learners are bound to have difficulty in such areas. The point is, even if structural compensation is a language universal, different speakers of different languages may have various means of handling it. For example, the lexical realization of the delexical structure in the L1 of the language learner may be different from that of the L2. This implies that

the learners have to learn the delexical chunks of the L2 as wholes i.e. not only the delexical verbs but the company they keep. Secondly, CGEL has made it quite clear that structural compensation occurs in both written and spoken English. It may also be quite useful for teaching if there is empirical evidence that this kind of structural compensation device is more dominant in the spoken or written form of the language. These issues will be taken up further in due course.

As has already been mentioned, the Mini Corpus which will be examined in Chapter 6 relates entirely to the verb MAKE. In order to look at the verb in a wider context, the study has begun in this chapter with an examination of Delexical Verbs in general. In the next chapter the linguistic analysis will largely confine itself to the verb MAKE because of the nature of Chapter 6.

Chapter 5

A Linguistic Analysis of the English Verb `Make'

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, the verb MAKE has been looked at in a wider context in respect of Delexical verbs. In order to examine the actual occurrences of the verb MAKE in the Corpus, which will form the basis of the next chapter, it is essential to have a carefully considered framework. This chapter will suggest such a framework, by taking into account the structural and semantic patterns that verbs such as MAKE may enter into. For the sake of convenience, most of the details of the framework will be exemplified by supplying sentences containing the word MAKE itself, though the examples may come from the corpora drawn upon by Quirk et al (1985) or other sources rather than the Birmingham Corpus which will be examined in Chapter 6.

First of all, it has to be particularly emphasized that this study will examine **all** kinds of relations the verb MAKE enters into, which include the syntactic, the semantic and the lexical relations the verb has with the company it keeps. The delexical use of the verb is of course one of the central relations that will be investigated as the verb is a typical member of the delexical verb family.

Secondly, it has to be pointed out from the beginning that in the linguistic analysis of the verb MAKE in this chapter, though it is possible to look at the syntactic features of the verb separately, both the syntax and the semantics of the verb will be examined **simultaneously**. It is hoped that it would be more interesting and more helpful to study these two aspects of the verb together as they are closely related to each other. Having said that, as the classification of the various usages of the verb will be clearer if syntax is superordinate, the discussion in this chapter will therefore be arranged according to the syntactic categories.

Thirdly, grammar and idioms have generally been taken as polarized aspects of the language because the former is assumed to be related to `rules' while the latter associated with `idiosyncracies' of the language. It is however noted that in a great number of cases there is a certain relationship between the idiomatic combinations of a word and the potential grammatical patterns into which the word may enter. Consider for example the combination

make matters/things worse

It is basically a Verb+Object+Adjectival Object Complement pattern. However, only the NPs `things' or `matters' can be put in the Object slot followed by `worse' in the Complement slot. This shows the constraint of lexical choices. In fact, it is also this constraint that gives the combination an idiomatic status. On the other hand, this association between grammatical patterns

and idiomatic combinations of words is particularly useful from a pedagogic perspective. In view of this pragmatic value, there will be a very small section on idiomatic usages at the end of the discussion on each main syntactic category involved.

Basically, in the linguistic analysis of MAKE below, as far as the syntax of the verb is concerned, reference will be made to CGEL (A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language) by Quirk et al (1985) supplemented or confirmed, where necessary, by relevant aspects of Chomskyan and post-Chomskyan theory. Radford (1988) in Transformational Grammar provides a useful and accessible summary of recent scholarship in this area and this rather than primary texts will be used as a supplement to Quirk et al´s work, providing in one or two difficult cases explanatory evidence. In the case of so-called `small clauses´, Radford´s alternative will be considered though not adopted because of the present lack of consensus in this area. As far as the meaning of the verb is concerned, reference will be made largely to the latest version of OED (1989) (Oxford English Dictionary) and some other dictionaries.

This chapter then serves the immediate purpose of classifying the possible uses of a verb such as MAKE to provide a framework for looking at the Mini Corpus as well as for looking at the essays of Hong Kong and British students. Ultimately, it is, of course, related to the central concern of this thesis that the importance of the company kept by words such as MAKE should be taken into consideration in the production of materials and the choice of methodology in English Language Teaching in general and

in the Hong Kong situation in particular. As CGEL is used as the reference for the linguistic analysis in this chapter, it may well be helpful to give a short description thereof.

5.1.1 CGEL

CGEL is a `scholarly reference grammar´ owing to its comprehensiveness, its extensive index of 114 pages prepared by David Crystal and its readable style of writing (Greenbaum 1987:193-195). As Huddleston says, `This book marks the culmination of some twenty years´ collaboration among the four authors...its breadth and depth of coverage indeed justify the label of "comprehensive" grammar.´ Moreover, the descriptive framework of CGEL was empirically based. In fact, it was based on three copora: the Survey of English Usage at London, the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen corpus, and the Brown University corpus. `These corpora, together with elicitation experiments, provided a solid underpinning for the description (Huddleston 1988:345).´ As Schopf puts it, `the descriptive framework of CGEL is based on a "mixed" approach `drawing on both the long-established linguistic tradition and on insights supplied by several of the contemporary schools of linguistics (Schopf 1976:177).´

However, the authors´ ambitious attempt to describe the grammar of the language in an all-inclusive framework is not without flaws. For example, although Huddleston admits that CGEL `undoubtedly represents a major achievement; it will surely occupy a pre-eminent and authoritative position among English reference grammars for a long time´ and that `it will be an

indispensable sourcebook for research in most areas of English grammar', he also points out the problems involving the description on prepositions and non-finites. For a detailed discussion please refer to Huddleston (1988:351). It is for this reason that `Transformational Grammar' comes in as a complementary reference wherever CGEL is found to be inadequate or alternatively where greater `explanatory adequacy' is needed apart from `observational' and `descriptive adequacy'.

5.1.2 The Syntactic Framework

The following is a brief introduction of the descriptive framework of CGEL.

5.1.2.1 Clause Constituents

CGEL (Quirk et al 1985: 49,53,54) distinguishes five main functional categories of clause [=sentence] constituents:

1 SUBJECT (S)

2 VERB (V)

3 OBJECT (O)

a. DIRECT OBJECT (Od)

b. INDIRECT OBJECT (Oi)

4 COMPLEMENT (C)

a. SUBJECT COMPLEMENT (Cs)

b. OBJECT COMPLEMENT (Co)

5 ADVERBIAL (A)

a. SUBJECT-RELATED (As)

b. OBJECT-RELATED (Ao)

As shown above, among the five clause elements, OBJECT has been further divided into Direct and Indirect Objects, Complement into Subject and Object Complements and Adverbial into Subject-related and Object-related Adverbials.

5.1.2.2 Clause Types

Based on these five main categories of clause constituents, the whole range of English clauses includes the following seven clause types (Quirk et al 1985:53):

1 SV

2 SVO

3 SVOO

4 SVC

5 SVOC

6 SVA

7 SVOA

These seven clause types can in turn be arranaged in three main categories:

(1) a two-element pattern: SV

(2) three three-element patterns: SVO,SVC & SVA

(3) three four-element patterns: SVOO, SVOC & SVOA

5.1.2.3. Verb Classes

Cutting across this three-fold classification are three main verb classes:

(1) Intransitive Verb (SV)

(2) Copular Verb (SVC/SVA)

(3) Transitive Verb

a. Monotransitive Verb (SVO)

b. Ditransitive Verb (SVOO)

c. Complex Transitive Verb (SVOA/SVOC)

Following this classification, amazingly, the verb MAKE fits in the majority of **all** the above mentioned clause types as shown in the following examples:

(1) This story made very good reading. (Copular)

(2) It is John´s turn to make. (Intransitive)

(3) John made a model. (Monotransitive)

(4) John made his little brother a model.(Ditransitive)

(5) John made his brother happy. (Complex Transitive)

Indeed, the verb MAKE is unusual in English in being able to enter into a much wider range of patterns than most other verbs i.e. it can be used as a Copular verb, an Intransitive verb, a Monotransitive verb, a Ditransitive verb and a Complex Transitive verb. The analysis in this chapter will be conducted according to these various kinds of status of the verb.

5.1.3 Semantic References

As already mentioned, in the discussion of the meaning of the verb MAKE, reference will be made largely to OED (1989). In brief, OED has classified the meaning of MAKE into five broad categories which altogether contain seventy-four senses each of which is further divided into numerous sub-senses. This has not yet taken into consideration the countless uses of idiomatic expressions. In brief, the five broad categories of meaning suggested in OED are as follows:

1 Senses in which the object of the verb is a product or result.

2 To subject to operation; to elaborate; to put in order

3 To cause to be or become (something specified)

4 Causative uses

5 To do, perform, accomplish

In the discussion of the meaning of the verb, besides OED, reference will also be made to the following dictionaries:

1 Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987) (**CCELD**)

2 Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1987) **(LDCE)**

3 Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1989) (**OALD**)

4 Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English Volume 1 (1975) (**ODCIE**)

5 Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English Volume 2 (1983) (**ODCIE 2**)

In brief, (1) above focuses on modern language usage, (2) and (3) are dictionaries particularly useful to Second Language learners and (4)&(5) above provide extremely valuable reference for idiomatic expressions of various grammatical structures.

5.1.4 Some Essential Concepts

Before embarking upon the analysis, a few concepts have to be discussed as they are very essential concepts in the analysis, namely `Complementation´ in CGEL and `Complement´ & `Adjunct´ in Transformational Grammar (henceforth **TG**).

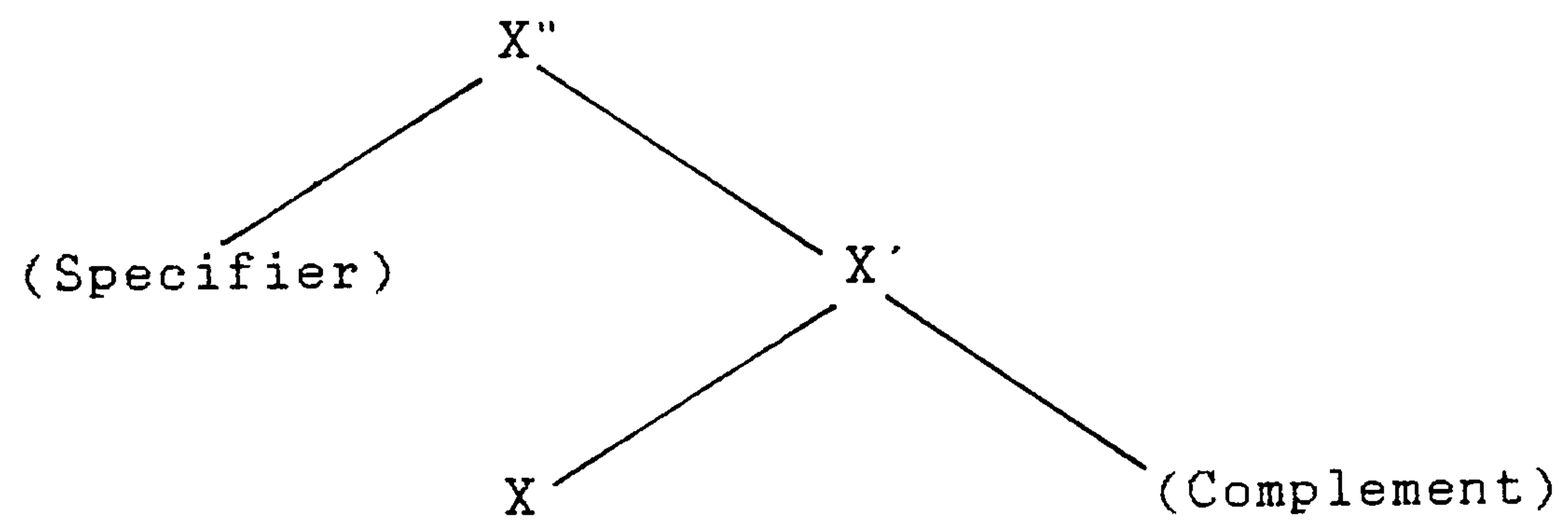
5.1.4.1 `Complementation´ in CGEL

According to CGEL, the term `complementation´ (as distinct from *complement*) refers to `the function of a part of a phrase or clause which follows a word, and completes the specification of a meaning relationship which that word implies (Quirk et al 1985:65)´.

Complementation may be either obligatory or optional on the syntactic level. However, regarding the `**verb complementations**´, elements such as `direct object´, `subject complement´ and `object complement´ are `obligatory elements of clause structure in that they are required for the complementation of the verb (Quirk et al 1985:722).´ Complementation types of the verb i.e. clause types have already been thoroughly described in section 2.1.2.2 and so will not be repeated here.

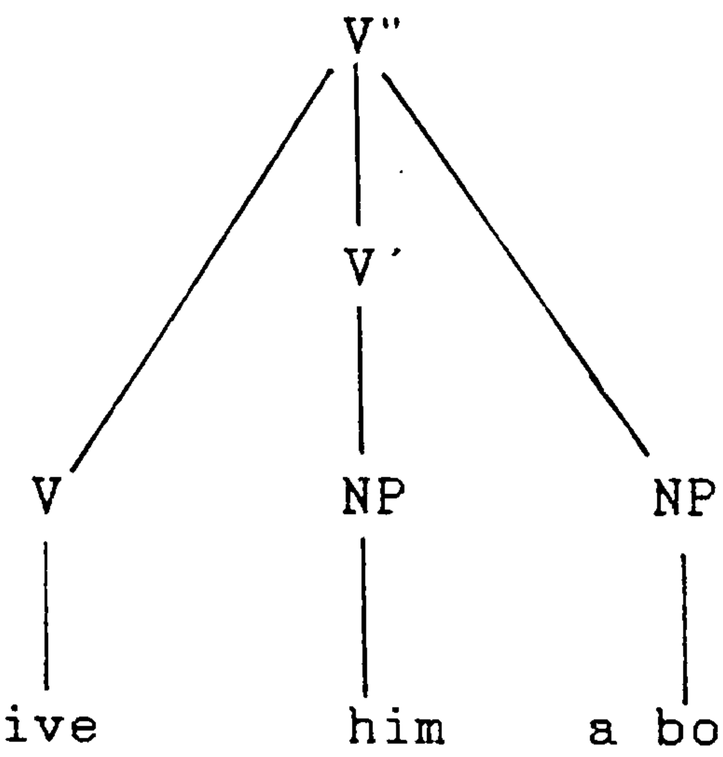
5.1.4.2 `Complements & Adjuncts´ in TG

The `obligatory´ relationship between the verb and its complementation is explained in TG as an item (in this respect a verb) subcategorizing a particular range of complements. The concept of the complement is best captured by X-Bar syntax which begins with the idea that there is a category which is larger than the constituent e.g. N, V (i.e. lexical units) etc. and smaller than the phrase e.g. NP, VP etc. For example, it is argued that in the case of a verb, there are three types of verbal category in English, namely, V, V-bar(V´) and V-double bar(V"). It is claimed that all phrases have the following schematic structure (Radford 1988:229):



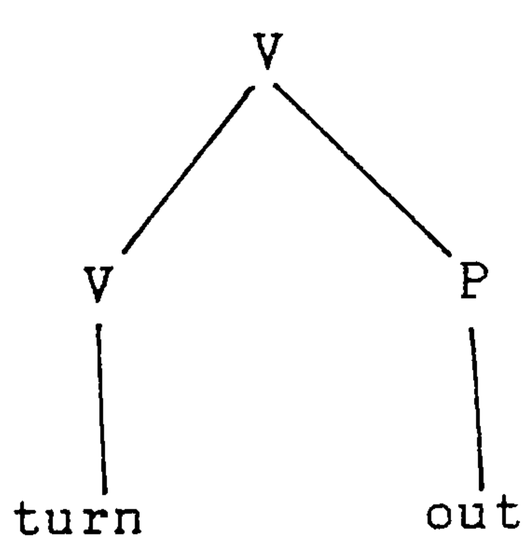
The brackets suggest that the Specifier and Complement are optional constituents of a phrase i.e. some phrases need specifiers and/or complements while some do not.

For example, the verb `give´ in the verb phrase [give him a book] will have the following internal structure:



The verb `give´ is therefore described as a Ditransitive verb subcategorizing two complement NPs `him´ and `a book´. Thus, it may be said that the concept of Verb Complementation in CGEL is more or less the same as the concept of Complements in verb phrases in TG.

Moreover, it is also suggested in X-bar syntax that besides Complements and Specifiers there is a third type of modifier i.e. Attribute/Adjunct. In the X-bar convention, while the Complements expand an X e.g. V to an X-bar e.g. V-bar(V´), the Attributes/Adjuncts expand an X e.g. V to an X e.g. V. For example, a Phrasal Verb which is a `compound verb´ will have the following internal structure:



The difference in the above two diagrams can be explained as follows: In the verb phrase [give him a book], the NPs `him´ and `a book´ are sisters of V but daughters of V´ i.e. the complements expand V to V´ while in the verb phrase [turn out], the P `out´ is both the daughter and sister of V i.e. the adjunct recursively expands V into V.

The concepts of Complements and Adjuncts will be used in the forthcoming analysis for distinguishing between combinations or chunks which have similar surface structures but different internal structures.

As has already been mentioned in the Introduction, in the examination of the verb MAKE, both syntax and semantics will be concurrently taken into account with syntax superordinate. The discussion below will begin with MAKE as an Intransitive Verb.

5.2 MAKE as an Intransitive Verb (SV)

`Where no complementation occurs, the verb is said to have an intransitive use (Quirk et al 1985:1169).´

CGEL (1985:1169) classifies Intransitive Verbs into three categories:

1 `Pure´ Intransitive verbs, which do not take an object at all (or at least do so only very rarely), for example, `appear´, `come´, `die´ etc. MAKE may be regarded as a pure Intransitive Verb when used with the meaning `to rise´ (of the tide) as shown in the following example:

(1) We shall build this into a platform...in order to give us a little extra height when the tide makes. (OED)

2 The second category of Intransitive Verbs are those which can also be transitive with the same meaning, and without a change in the subject-verb relationship. It may be said that the verb MAKE also belongs to this category when used with the meaning `to shuffle´ (in card games):

(2)It is my turn to make. (OALD)

(3)It is my turn to make the cards.

The same meaning and the same subject-verb relationship are found in the 2 examples above.

3 The third type of Intransitive Verbs are those which can also be Transitive, but where the semantic connection between subject and verb is different in the two cases:

(4)The door opened slowly.

(5)Mary opened the door.

Obviously, The verb MAKE does not belong to this class of Intransitive Verbs.

In general, as CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:506) observes, `the number of verbs having sufficient semantic weight in themselves to require no further complementation is quite small. Even Intransitive verbs depend considerably on a context which in fact provides the unexpressed adjunct.´ For example,

The rabbit *suddenly* disappeared.

The rabbit disappeared *behind a bush*.

As a matter of fact, most of the Intransitive uses of MAKE are found with prepositions, such as `make for´, to form a semantic unit. In such cases, MAKE can be regarded as an Intransitive Prepositional Verb, a category which will be discussed in due course.

Summary: As an Intransitive Verb, MAKE is usually used with the meaning of rising (of the tide) or shuffling (of cards). The Intransitive usage of MAKE is not common when compared with other usages.

5.3 MAKE as a Copular Verb (SVC & SVA)

While the last section is about MAKE as an Intransitive Verb i.e. a verb that does not need any complementation, the following few sections are about the various types of complementation the verb may take. This section is on the Copular complementation in particular.

According to CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1171), a verb is said to have COPULAR complementation when it is:

1 followed by a subject complement (SVCs) which may be adjectival or nominal e.g.

The girl seemed restless.

William is my friend.

2 followed by a predication adjunct (SVAs) e.g

The kitchen is downstairs.

Both the complement and the predication adjunct `cannot be dropped without changing the meaning of the verb.´ The function of these verbs is `equivalent to that of the principal copular, the verb BE (Quirk et al 1985:1171)´.

As a Copular Verb, MAKE may take a Subject Complement realized by a noun (SVCs) or it may take an Adverbial Complementation (SVAs).

5.3.1 SVCs

The verb MAKE is one of the few verbs in the English language which takes a Nominal Subject Complement but not an Adjectival Subject Complement (Quirk et al 1985:1173) e.g

They made a charming couple.

When used in this pattern, MAKE generally has the meaning of `being´ or `becoming´ something. Hereunder are some examples from OALD:

(1) She would have made an excellent teacher. [=become]

(2) That will make a good ending to the book. [=constitute]

(3) 5 and 7 make 12. [=add up to]

(4) That makes the tenth time he´s failed his driving test! [=count as]

A close study of the sentences above shows that the verb MAKE may be replaced by the principal copular verb `be´. Moreover, all the usages of MAKE above seem to imply a process, be it that of `developing´ or `adding´ etc.

Furthermore, the Subject Complements in the above sentences i.e. `an excellent teacher´, `a good ending to the book´, `12´ and `the tenth time he´s failed his driving test´ all have the semantic role of `characterization attributes´, some of which

seem to imply favourable attitudes on the part of the speaker. As the `Complement´ is one of the essential clause constituents of the verb MAKE, it is worthwhile going into greater detail here.

5.3.2 Subject and Object Complements

According to CGEL, `the typical semantic role of a subject complement and an object complement is that of ATTRIBUTE.´ The role of the attribute can in turn be distinguished between that of `identification´ and `characterization´. Some examples of subject complements having the semantic role of `identification attribute´ (Quirk et al 1985: 741) are as follows:

1 Kevin is *my brother.*

2 Brenda became *their accountant.*

Some examples of subject complements having the semantic role of `characterization attribute´ (Quirk et al 1985:742) are also shown hereunder:

3 Dwight is *an honest man.*

4 The operation seemed *a success.*

Three syntactic features are put forward to identify this semantic distinction (Quirk et al 1985:742):

1 Only identification attributes normally allow reversal of subject and complement without affecting the semantic relations in the clause, if the Copula is BE:

Kevin is my brother.

My brother is Kevin.

If the Copula is other than BE the reversal can be tested by substituting BE.

2 Only characterization attributes can also be realized by adjective phrases.

3 Identification attributes are normally associated with definite noun phrases. Noun phrases used as characterization attributes are normally indefinite.

Though the above is about Subject complements, the same semantic distinction applies to Object Complements as well.

Following the above analysis, MAKE, as a Copular verb, usually takes a Subject Complement with the role of characterization attribute as shown by the examples in the last section.

On the other hand, as a Complex Transitive verb, MAKE may take an Object Complement with the semantic role of either identification attribute as in

I made Maurice my assistant. (SVOCs)

[Maurice is my assistant].

[My assistant is Maurice].

or, it may take an Object Complement in the form of an Adjective with the semantic role of characterization attribute as in:

She made them comfortable. (SVOCs)

In addition, CGEL further divides attributes into `current´ or `existing´ attributes and `resulting´ attributes. Obviously, the complements of MAKE have the semantic role of resulting attributes and this is the reason why MAKE is also described as a `resulting verb´.

5.3.3 SVAs

According to CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1174/1176), the principal copula that allows an adverbial as complementation is `be´. However, the verbs of `seeming´ e.g. `seem´, `appear´, `look´, are also found to be complemented by an Adverbial beginning with `as if´ as in

It seems **as if** the weather is improving.

An alternative construction is one in which the `as if´ clause is replaced by a phrase introduced by `like´ as in

Bill looks (just) **like** his father.

As a Copular verb, it can be said that MAKE behaves like the verbs of `seeming´ taking an adjunct which is subject-oriented:

The girls want to look like boys and the boys **make as if** they are girls. (OED)

When used in this pattern, MAKE has the meaning of `acting´ or `behaving´.

Summary: This section has looked at MAKE as a Copular Verb. The verb MAKE takes a Nominal Subject Complement but not an Adjectival Subject Complement. Moreover, when used in this pattern, the verb has the meaning of `being´ or `becoming´. On the other hand, taking an adjunct as complementation, MAKE is used like the verbs of `seeming´ with the meaning of `behaving´ or `acting´. The semantic role of the Subject and Object Complements of MAKE has also been discussed.

5.4 MAKE as a Monotransitive Verb (SVO)

As mentioned in the Introduction, Transitive usages are subdivided into Monotransitive, Ditransitive and Complex Transitive types. In this section we will examine MAKE as a Monotransitive verb. The Ditransitive and Complex Transitive usages of MAKE will be discussed in the next two sections respectively.

`Verbs used in monotransitive function require a direct object, which may be a noun phrase, a finite clause, or a nonfinite clause (Quirk et al 1985:1176).´ As a Monotransitive verb, MAKE generally takes a noun phrase as an object.

Syntactically, the object of MAKE may generally become the subject of the corresponding passive clause:

He made a kite. [make=construct]

A kite was made (by him).

However, there are instances when the passive cannot be used:

We´ve made 100 miles today. (OALD)

make [=travel over (a distance)]

D´ you think we´ll make Oxford by Midday? (OALD)

make [=manage to reach a place]

5.4.1 The Subject and the Object

According to CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:741), `the most typical semantic role of a subject in a clause that has a direct object is that of the AGENTIVE participant: that is, the animate being instigating or causing the happening denoted by the verb´. On the other hand, `the most typical role of the direct object is that of the AFFECTED participant: a participant (animate or inanimate) which does not cause the happening denoted by the verb, but is directly involved in some other way´.

Monotransitive verbs are then divided into the following semantic groups according to the kinds of subjects and objects they take (Quirk et al 1985:1176):

1 Typically animate subject + typically concrete object

2 Typically animate subject + either concrete or abstract object

3 Typically animate subject + typically animate object

4 Typically concrete or abstract subject + animate object

Surprisingly, MAKE can fit in all the above 4 categories and, possibly followed by a fifth one as illustrated below:

(1) He made a kite.

(2) He made a complaint.

(3) He made Betty in spite of her protestation.

(4) It was the test tube that made the baby.

(5) God made man.

In (5) above, the Subject is spiritual (i.e. abstract) and the Object may be spiritual (i.e. abstract), concrete or animate. Culturally western religion may have a more Anthropomorphic view of God than many eastern religions, so this is a separate category for people in the West rather than the East.

Though the verb MAKE is used with subjects and objects of various semantic roles in various contexts, it may be argued that the meanings of MAKE in these cases are to a certain extent related to rather than totally independent of each other.

5.4.2 Categories of Senses

It may be said that the verb MAKE has a general meaning of `**bringing something into existence**´ when used in the SVO pattern. The ways of doing it may be by :

1 constructing

2 producing in a wider sense

3 framing in thought

4 gaining

5 doing in a general sense

as illustrated by the following 5 examples respectively:

(1) He made a cake.

(2) He made a noise.

(3) That made a big difference.

(4) He made a fortune.

(5) He made all the arrangements.

The one thing that is common among all the Objects in the five sentences above is that the products realized by the NP `a cake´, `a noise´, `a big difference´, `a fortune´ and `the arrangement´ did not exist before they were `made´ i.e. they were all the results or products of the action `making´.

Indeed, each of the above five categories of meaning may further be divided into sub-categories. In the discussion below each of the five categories of meaning will be looked at separately. The collocating elements or idiomatic expressions associated with each category will also be highlighted.

5.4.2.1 Category 1

`To make´ is `to construct´ by

a. combination of parts e.g. make a car

b. combination of ingredients e.g. make wine

c. creating e.g. God made man

d. composing e.g. make one´s will

The Objects of the verb in all the above examples denote a product with physical existence.

Regarding the Sub-sense (b) above, CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:711,712) notes that MAKE collocates with different prepositions indicating the `material´, `ingredient´ and `substance´ from which something is made. For example, the collocating preposition `with´ indicates an ingredient:

This cake is *made with* lots of eggs

[Eggs are an important ingredient] (CGEL)

The collocating prepositions `of´ and `out of´ signify the material or constituency of the whole thing:

He *made* the frame (*out) of* wood.

[Wood was the only material] (CGEL)

And, the collocating preposition `from´ indicates the substance from which something is derived:

3 Beer is *made from* hops. (CGEL)

CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:657) remarks that the prepositional phrases in the examples above are complementations of the verbs and the prepositions are `more closely related to the preceding words, which determine their choices, than to the prepositional complements´. For example, in (3) above, the preposition `from´ is closer to the verb `made´ which determines its choice than the prepositional complement `hops´.

It should be pointed out that the examples above have at the same time reveal that when used with this meaning, the Passive usage is preferred.

5.4.2.2 Category 2

`To make´ is `to produce´ by

a. some actions e.g. make a hole

b. bringing about a condition of things e.g. make a fuss

c. giving rise to e.g. make a difference

d. establishing e.g. make a rule

When compared with Category 1, the product of the action in this category may not be something but may be a state or a certain condition. Here are some more examples: *make a fuss, make a note, make peace, make place, make room, make way, make friends, make a difference* etc.

Moreover, according to OED, `MAKE is used with the construction "of" or "out of" to designate the action of causing what is denoted by the regimen of the preposition to become what is denoted by the object of the verb´ e.g. *to make a business/practice/trade of; to make an example/a fool of; to make an ass/a beast/an exhibition of oneself; to make the best/the most of; make a hash/mess/muddle of* etc. These phrases accordingly have become Transitive Prepositional usages.

In addition, MAKE is used with `of it´ to form idiomatic expressions e.g *make a day of it, make a meal of it* etc.

5.4.2.3 Category 3

`To make´ is `to frame in thought´ by

a. formulating mentally e.g. make no doubt
b. having an opinion of e.g make much of

In the above examples, the product of the action does not have physical existence and usually denotes an opinion or an attitude in the mind. However, it should be pointed out that there are overlapping areas between this category and the preceding one.

Here are some more chunks associated with this category of meaning: *make a difference, make a mental note* etc.

Moreover, according to OED, MAKE is also used in this meaning with `of´ to regard `what is denoted by the regimen of the prep´ as being `what the object of the verb denotes.´ When compared with the same construction in the previous category, this may be viewed as a `figurative application´ e.g. *make head or tail of, make sense of; make (much, little, nothing) of, make light of* etc., which are also Transitive Prepositional Usages.

5.4.2.4 Category 4

`To make´ is `to gain´ by

a. labour, business e.g make a fortune

b. winning in games e.g. She made her ten of hearts

c. succeeding in having sex with e.g The guy doesn't make the girl until the last chapter

The result of the action in all the above examples is something or somebody `procured' by the doer of the action who succeeds in doing what he intends to do.

Some more combinations associated with this category are listed hereunder: *make money, make a living, make capital out of, make a name (for oneself)* etc.

5.4.2.5 Category 5

As mentioned above, MAKE also has the general meaning of `doing'. `To make' is `to do' by

a. performing

b. accomplishing

OED remarks, `From the 12thc. *make* (corresponding to L. *facere*, F. *faire)* has been extensively used with a noun of action as object, where the older language would have used the verb (work) or (do).'

Some examples of chunks associated with this category are also listed as follows: *`make (a) fight', `make a bow', `make a curtsy', `make a face (at)', `make a marriage', `make one's*

communion´, `make an excursion´, `make a tour´, `make a speech´ etc. These examples at the same time show that most of the usages are delexical as well.

Summary: From the discussion above, it is quite clear that as a Monotransitve Verb, MAKE is used with Subjects and Objects of various semantic roles giving various categories of meaning all of which are related to the basic concept of `bring sth into existence.´ Moreover, it seems that the meaning of the verb is related to the product of the action. Furthermore, the fact that the Monotransitive pattern of the verb is closely associated with its delexical use has also been noted.

5.5 MAKE as a Ditransitive Verb (SVOO)

`Ditransitive complementations in its basic form involve two object noun phrases: an Indirect Object, which is normally animate and positioned first and a Direct Object, which is normally concrete,´ states CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1208).

As a Ditransitive verb, MAKE is used in the following two patterns mostly with the meaning of `constructing´ i.e. sense category (1) as described in the last section.

1 verb + indirect object + direct object (V NP NP)

2 verb + direct object + prepositional phrase (V NP PP)

Since both the Direct and Indirect Objects may be realized by NPs, it may be helpful to make a distinction between them.

5.5.1 Direct and Indirect Objects

The standard view about these elements may well not need restating, but for the sake of consistency it is probably worth referring again to the views of CGEL.

CGEL distinguishes between the Direct and Indirect Objects as follows: While `the object of an active clause may generally become the subject of the corresponding passive clause´, `the indirect object generally corresponds to a prepositional phrase, which is generally placed after the direct object (Quirk et al 1985:727).´ For example,

Oi Od

(1) She made [Joyce] [a dress]

(2) [A dress] was made for Joyce

(3) She made a dress [for Joyce]

Moreover, the Indirect Object can generally be omitted without affecting the semantic relations between the other elements:

(4) She made a dress

(5)*She made Joyce

As has already been mentioned in this dissertation, all sentences marked with an asterisk [*] are ungrammatical.

On the other hand, semantically, while the Direct Object typically refers to an entity that is affected by the action denoted in the clause, `the indirect object typically refers to an animate being that is the recipient of the action.´ In (1) above, the Indirect Object `Joyce´ is also described as having the role of an `intended recepient´.

5.5.2 Ditransitive and Complex Transitive Verbs

As the Ditransitive Complementation seems to be realized by the same surface structure as that of the Complex Transitive Complementation i.e. [V NP NP], there is the need to clarify the difference between them. Consider the following two examples:

(1) They [made] [Joyce] [a dress]. [SVOO]

(2) They [made] [Joyce] [my assistant]. [SVOCo]

We will say that the verb MAKE has the status of a Ditransitive verb in (1) but the status of a Complex Transitive verb in (2).

First of all, the meaning conveyed by the verb is very different in both cases. In (1), the meaning of the verb is `producing´ while in (2) the meaning is `appointing´.

Syntactically, the biggest difference between them is that while the relationship between the NPs `Joyce´ and `a dress´ is one of Indirect and Direct Objects in (1), the relationship between the NPs `Joyce´ and `my assistant´ is one of Object and Object Complement in (2).

That `dress´ in (1) is the Direct Object while `my assistant´ in (2) is not can be tested by the fact that the former becomes the Subject in the passive while the latter doesn´t:

(3) The dress was made by them

(4)*My assistant was made by them

Moreover, the NP `Joyce´ in (1) is the Indirect Object as it corresponds to the prepositional phrase but the NP `Joyce´ in (2) does not:

(5) They made a dress [for Joyce]

(6)*They made my assistant for Joyce

Furthermore, as an Indirect Object, `Joyce´ in (1) can be ommitted but `assistant´, which is the Object Complement in (2), cannot:

(7) They made a dress

(8)*They made my assistant

On the other hand, that the relationship between the NPs `Joyce´ and `my assistant´ in (2) is one between the Object and Object Complement can be demonstrated by the fact that there is a Copular relation between them which does not exist between an Indirect and a Direct Object. The Copular relation can be tested by substituting `be´:

(9) Joyce was my assistant

(10) *Joyce was my dress

The above discussion, hopefully, has explained quite clearly why MAKE is a Ditransitive Verb in (1) and a Complex Transitive Verb in (2).

Summary: As a Ditransitive verb, MAKE has the meaning of `constructing.´ The Indirect Object of MAKE corresponds to the Prepositional Phrase headed by the Preposition `for´. The differences between the Direct and Indirect Objects and the differences between the SVOO and the SVOCo complementation types have also been discussed in detail.

5.6 MAKE as a Complex Transitive Verb (SVOC/SVOA)

Syntactically, `a distinguishing characteristic of complex transitive complementation is that the two elements following the verb (e.g. object and object complement) are notionally equated with the subject and predication respectively of a nominal clause (Quirk et al 1985:1195).´ Consider the following examples,

1 She presumed that her father was dead. [SVO]

2 She presumed her father to be dead. [SVOC]

3 She presumed her father dead. [SVOC]

`In (3), *her father* (O) and *dead* (C) are equivalent in meaning to a separate clause, *vis* the that-clause in (1). This relationship remains where the object complement is expanded into an infinitive clause, as in (2).´ Moreover, in (2), *her father to be dead*, in spite of its clause-like meaning and appearance, does not act syntactically as a single constituent, as is evident in the passive, where the O is separated from its complement:

Her father was presumed (by her) *to be dead.*

So, the defining property of the Complex Transitive complementation is `this divisibility into two elements of a semantically clausal construction following the verb (Quirk et al 1985:1195).´

CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1202) says that this kind of clause has an `implied subject´, `the non-finite clause in these patterns has no subject itself, but its implied subject is always the preceding noun phrase, which is object of the superordinate clause. This noun phrase, which if a personal pronoun is in the objective case, is commonly termed a RAISED OBJECT: semantically, it has the role of subject of the nonfinite verb; but syntactically it is "raised" from the nonfinite clause to

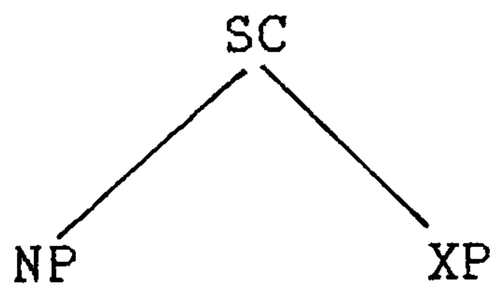
function as object of the superordinate verb. Hence in general, this noun phrase can become subject of the corresponding passive.'

Burton-Roberts (1986:81) also has a very interesting description of the Complex Transitive verb. According to him, Complex Transitive verb groups `combine' Monotransitive complementation with Copular complementation. Like Monotransitives, Complex transitives are complemented by an NP functioning as a direct object and like Copulars, an NP, an AP, or a PP functions as a predicative. However, he points out a very essential difference between the predicative in Copular and Complex Transitive complementations. In a Copular complementation, the predicative characterizes the Subject but in a Complex Transitive complementation, the Complement characterizes the Object such as :

4 [She] would make [a very good teacher] (SVCs)

5 She made [him] [a very good teacher] (SVOCo)

On the other hand, Radford (1988:331)) describes the Complex Transitive structure as a `Small Clause' which has the following schematic form:



where XP = AP, NP, PP and VP giving four major types of small clauses:

1 SCs with AP Predicate: Adjectival Small Clauses

2 SCs with PP Predicate: Prepositional Small Clauses

3 SCs with NP Predicate: Nominal Small Clauses

4 SCs with VP Predicate:

a. Infinitival

b. Gerundive

c. Participial

In the light of this analysis, all the Complex Transitive complementation types of MAKE can be described economically and nicely as follows:

1 She made [SC her [NP the class representative]]

2 She made [SC her father [AP sad]]

3 She made [SC her way [PP towards the platform]]

4 She made [SC him [VP [do it]]

5 She made [SC herself [VP [understood]]

It is important to note that in the analysis above, the NP after MAKE is considered to be a Subject in the Small clause rather than an Object in the Superordinate Clause. However, since the categorial status of the Small Clause is still an issue of much debate, our discussion of MAKE as a Complex Transitive Verb is therefore based on the descriptive framework of CGEL.

According to CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1171), Complex Transitive complementation includes the following:

1 Object + Adjectival object complement

2 Object + Nominal object complement

3 Object + Adverbial

4 Object + To-infinitive

5 Object + Bare infinitive

6 Object + Ing clause

7 Object + Ed clause

Based on this classification, as a Complex Transitive verb, MAKE takes complementation types 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7 as illustrated by the following five examples respectively:

(1) Grace made me mad

(2) She made Joyce my assistant

(3) She made her way home

(5) She made Joyce tidy the room

(7) She made herself understood

When used as a Complex Transitive verb, MAKE generally has the meaning of `causing to be´ or `become´ (something specified). The following will consider in greater detail the various types of Complex Transitive Complementation.

5.6.1 Object+Object Complement (SVOCo)

In the English language, MAKE is one of the few verbs which can have Object Complements. Moreover, as a Complex Transitive verb, MAKE may take an Adjectival or a Nominal Object Complement:

(1) John made his sister [sad].

(2) They made John [the class representative]

5.6.1.1 with an Adjectival Object Complement

When used with an Adjectival Object Complement, MAKE has the meaning of `causing to be´ or `rendering.´

CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:417) notes, `The adjective functioning as object complement often expresses the result of the process denoted by the verb´. For example, in the sentence

(1) The resignation of the Prime Minister made them excited.

the result of the action could be paraphrased by using the verb BE:

(2) They were excited as a result of the Prime Minister´s resignation.

As for the semantic role of the Object Complement of MAKE, a very detailed discussion has already been conducted in Section 5.3.2 above. In brief, the Adjectival Object Complement of MAKE has the semantic role of `characterization attribute´. In addition, the adjectival complement also has the semantic role of `resulting attribute´.

It may be appropriate to mention here some delexical chunks of MAKE which are associated with this category of usage i.e. the collocations such as `make sure/make certain´.

As CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1198) observes, `The collocations "make sure" and "make certain" are peculiar in that the object is a that-clause and always follows the adjectival complement.´ e.g.

(3) Please make sure/certain that you enclose your birth certificate. (SVCO)

Moreover, there is no passive **be made sure/certain*.....and while extraposition is obligatory in other collocations as in

(4) He found it strange that no one else had arrived

(5) I think it very odd that she left without saying goodbye

extraposition is optional with `make N clear´, and therefore the preparatory `it´ may be omitted e.g.

(6) She made (it) clear that we were regarded as trespassers.

Note that as delexical chunks, the structure of `make clear/sure´ is different from that of the V+O or V+O+P+N types.

5.6.1.2 with a Nominal Object Complement

On the other hand, when used with a Nominal Object Complement, MAKE uaually gives the following meaning:

1 to cause to be

2 to appoint to the office of

3 to determine to be

4 to regard as

The above four senses are illustrated by the four sentences below respectively:

(1) This sentence made the noisy doctor a popular hero (OED)

(2) She made Marlborough a duke (OED)

(3) They made murder a capital offence

(4) The distance travelled I make by the map five miles (OED)

Regarding the difference between the internal structures of this pattern and the SVOO pattern, an analysis has already been made in section 5.5.2 and need not be repeated here.

5.6.2 Object+Adverbial Complementation (SVOA)

In this pattern, verbs have as their complementation an object followed by a predication adjunct. As CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1201) observes, `The most characteristic adjuncts to occur in this pattern are prepositional phrases of space, and more particularly of direction.´ For example,

They left the key at my office. (space position adjunct)

I slipped the key into the lock.(direction adjunct)

Furthermore, it has also been pointed out that `the same verbs can occur, with a considerable difference in meaning according as they require or do not require an obligatory adjunct (Quirk et al 1985:509).´ For example,

My father kept me	[=supported me financially]
My father kept me *in bed*	[=made me stay]
They have a cottage	[=own]
They have a cottage *for sale*	[=are selling]

When used in this kind of Complex Transitive pattern, the meaning of the verb MAKE is quite different from that of other kinds of Complex Transitive usages. It has the meaning of `moving´ or `proceeding´ e.g.

John made his way home

John made his way to the bridge.

Although `make my own way´ is a possible usage among the speakers of the language, it is more common to use the expression with a direction adjunct.

To sum up, the above two Sections are about (1) MAKE as a Complex Transitive Verb taking an Object and an Object Complement which may be realized by an Adjective phrase or a Noun phrase and (2) MAKE as a Complex Transitive verb taking a complementation in the form of an Adjunct. In the following sections, we will look at the Complex Transitive complementation of MAKE realized by Nonfinite Clauses.

5.6.3 Object+Bare Infinitive Clauses

When used in this pattern, MAKE conveys the following two meanings:

1 to cause

2 to force

as illustrated by the following two examples respectively:

(1) Onions make your eyes water. (OALD)

(2) They made me repeat. (OALD)

The difference in meaning between these two sentences can be illustrated by the substitution of the verb `cause´ and the verb `force´ respectively:

(3) Onions *cause* your eyes to water

(4) They *forced* me to repeat.

Moreover, as a verb of `coercive meaning´, MAKE is used with a `to-infinitive´ in the Passive :

(5) I was made to repeat

The `causative´ meaning is not used with the Passive e.g.

(6)*Your eyes are made to water

Indeed, it is the use with `to-infinitive´ in the Passive that differentiates MAKE from other coercive verbs such as `have´ and `let´ which can´t take the passive:

9 You shouldn´t let your family interfere with our plans

10*Your family shouldn´t be let to interfere with our plans

Whether the meaning of MAKE should be interpreted as `causing´ or `forcing´ in a certain sentence depends very much on the actual context in which it is used.

5.6.4 Object+ Ed Clauses

In this pattern, MAKE mainly has a causative meaning. According to OED, MAKE is used in this respect chiefly with the past participle `known´, `acquainted´ `felt´ `heard´ `understood´ such as:

(1)His action made him universally respected (OALD)

(2)She couldn't make her voice heard above the noise of the traffic (OALD)

Seemingly, the Object+Ed Nonfinite complementation looks like the Object+Adjectival Object Complement complementation as Adjectives may have suffixes as participial in `ed' called `participial adjectives'. Consider the following two examples:

(3) She made [him] [sad]. (SVO+ Co)

(4) He made [himself] [respected]. (SVO+ Ed Clause)

While `respected' is the Past Participle of the verb `respect' used in the passive construction of the nonfinite clause, `sad', on the other hand, as an adjective, cannot take a corresponding passive:

(5) He made himself respected by the villagers

(6)*She made him sad by.....

The `by phrase' in (5) is an **agent** `by phrase'. The `by phrase' in (6), if there is any, can only be an adverb phrase e.g. of manner.

The above is a discussion of the Complex Transitive complementation of the verb MAKE realized by various structures. The following are some examples of chunks of these structures:

(A) Object+Adjectival Object Complement:

make sb tired, make matters worse, make sth plain/clear (to sb), make oneself scarce, make oneself useful etc.

(B) Object+Nominal Object Complement:

make somebody's life a misery, make sb a laughing stock etc.

(C) Object+Adverbial Complementation:

make one's way across/along/back etc.

(D) Object+Bare Infinitive Clause:

make a cat laugh, make one's flesh creep/crawl, make oneself look like a fool, make ends meet, make sth work etc.

(E) Object+Ed Clause:

make itself felt, make one's presence felt, make one's voice heard etc.

Summary: The verb MAKE is one of the few verbs in the English language with such a great variety of Complex Transitive complementation types. As a Complex Transitive Verb, MAKE has the general meaning of `causing'. However, when taking different complementation types, the verb may convey very different meanings, for instance, the special meaning of `moving' associated with the Adverbial Complementation. Besides, the status of the noun following the verb in the Complex Transitive Complementation has also been discussed. While CGEL considers it

the Object of the preceding verb, TG regards it the Subject of the `Small Clause´ and, for the sake of convenience, the framework of the former has been used along the discussion.

5.7 Verb+Particle Combinations of MAKE (V+P)

The main syntactic categories of the verb MAKE have been examined very carefully in the previous few sections and the related chunks of MAKE, which are realized by various grammatical structures and of various degrees of idiomaticity have also been looked at briefly at the end of some of the said sections. This section is to consider in particular a very essential kind of chunks of the verb, which are generally called `Phrasal Verbs´ and `Prepositional Verbs´.

The term **particles** is used as a neutral term for adverbs and/or prepositions. So, **Verb+Particle Combinations** in fact refer to combinations of the structures of Verb+Preposition, Verb+Adverb or Verb+Adverb+Preposition, all of which behave as single words lexically or syntactically. In other words, all `free combinations´ of similar structures are excluded.

The following will first of all look at the syntactic structures and the idiomatic status of these Verb+Particle Combinations.

5.7.1 Simple and Complex Combinations

At its simplest, the V+P combination is made up of a lexical verb and a particle, which may be in the form of an Adverb e.g. `make up´ or in the form of a Preposition e.g. `make for´. However, the structure of the V+P combinations may be more complex when there are nouns or adjectives as fixed elements in addition to the verbs and particles e.g. `make a mental note of´, `make an honest woman of her´ etc.

CGEL describes the former as `type I´ combinations and the latter as `type II´ to avoid the problem of Transitivity and Intransitivity. In this thesis, for the sake of convenience, the simple type of V+P combinations will be called **Intransitive Prepositional/Phrasal Verbs** and the complex type called **Transitive Prepositional/Phrasal Verbs**. These terms may not be ideal but they certainly serve the purpose of making the classifications clearer.

5.7.2 Structural Fixity and Semantic Unity

As mentioned above, the Verb+Particle Combinations function as units of meaning. In the following discussion, in addition to CGEL, reference will also be made to the Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English Volume 1 (Cowie et al 1975) (henceforth ODCIE), which is a specialized dictionary on Verb+Adverb and Verb+Preposition idioms in particular.

In the Introduction of ODCIE, the authors put forward some tests for idiomaticity the principle of which are listed below:

Firstly, `if a verb+particle expression is a semantic unit we should be able to substitute for it a number of single words of equivalent meaning´ as in

His promotion **has stepped up** their social status

His promotion **has improved/enhanced** their social status

Secondly, if **step up** is a unit of meaning, `it should not be possible to break that unity either by removing the particle component or by replacing the verb component with other verbs of like meaning´.

*His promotion **has stepped** their social status.

*His promotion **has stepped on** their social status.

Thirdly, `the semantic unity which is characteristic of idioms tends to make them behave as single *grammatical* words also.´ For example, some V+P combinations in the form of verb+adverb can be converted into nouns e.g. to make up/make-up, to break down/breakdown.

Fourthly, `idiomatic expressions are units of meaning: non-idiomatic expressions, conversely, are made up of distinct meaningful parts.´

Having said that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the authors of ODCIE are quick to point out that there is not a sharp contrast between highly idiomatic expressions and the rest.

As a matter of fact, CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1162) notes that there are V+P combinations e.g. `get away with´ and `run out of´ which do not have one-word paraphrases while on the other hand, there are non-idiomatic combinations e.g. `go across´ (=cross), `go past´ (=pass), and `sail around´ (=circumnavigate) which do have such paraphrases. Another such example from ODCIE is `draw out´ (=drawout).

Indeed, in the discussion of Phrasal Verbs, CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1152-1153) also admits that some Phrasal Verbs may be more idiomatic and cohesive than the others though `idiomatic´ phrasal verbs should be clearly distinguished from `free combinations´ as the distinction is both semantic and syntactic.

In this respect, as also mentioned in Chapter 2, Cowie et al (1983:xii) suggest `a scale of idiomaticty´ and say that `a view of idiomaticity which does full justice to the rich diversity of word-combinations in English must recognize that the meaning of a combination may be related to those of its components in a variety of ways, and must take account also of the possibility of internal variation, or substitution of part for part.´

Finally, it should also be mentioned that both the CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1152, 1160) and ODCIE (Cowie et al 1975:vi) are of the opinion that these V+O combinations are closely related to Informal English.

The discussion of the V+P category below will include the following categories:

1 Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

2 Transitive Prepositional Verbs

3 Intransitive Phrasal Verbs

4 Transitive Phrasal Verbs

5 Intransitive Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

6 Transitive Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

5.7.3 Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

Let us begin by considering the definition of Prepositional Verbs. With regard to CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1155), the Prepositional verb is consisted of `a lexical verb followed by a preposition with which it is semantically and/or syntactically associated.´

Moreover, `the noun phrase following the preposition in such construction is termed a PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT.´

CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1156) suggests two complementary analyses. For example, a sentence with the Prepositional verb `look after´ may be analysed as (1) or (2) below:

(1) She [looked] [after her son] (SVA)

(2) She [looked after] [her son] (SVO)

In (1), `look´ is an Intransitive verb in a SVA pattern while in (2), `look after´ is a Monotransitive verb in a SVO pattern.

While accepting the idea that Prepositional Verbs of this type are semantically idiomatic units, we find it more convincing to classify constructions of this type as `Intransitive Prepositional Verbs´.

In fact, Transformational Grammar also supports analysis type (1) above. In brief, the Prepositional Verb is described as an Intransitive Verb which subcategorizes a Complement Prepositional Phrase. (Please refer to the Introduction of this chapter in respect of **Complement** in Transformational Grammar).

According to Radford (1988:231/232), Chomsky (1965:101-3) makes a distinction between `internal´ postmodifiers which show a strong degree of *cohesion* to their governing Verb, and `external´ postmodifiers which show less *cohesion* to the Verb. For example, Chomsky argues that the PPs in sentences such as (1) and (3) hereunder are `external´ postmodifiers while the PPs in sentences such as (2) and (4) are `internal´ postmodifers:

1 He will work [at the office] (=external postmodifier)

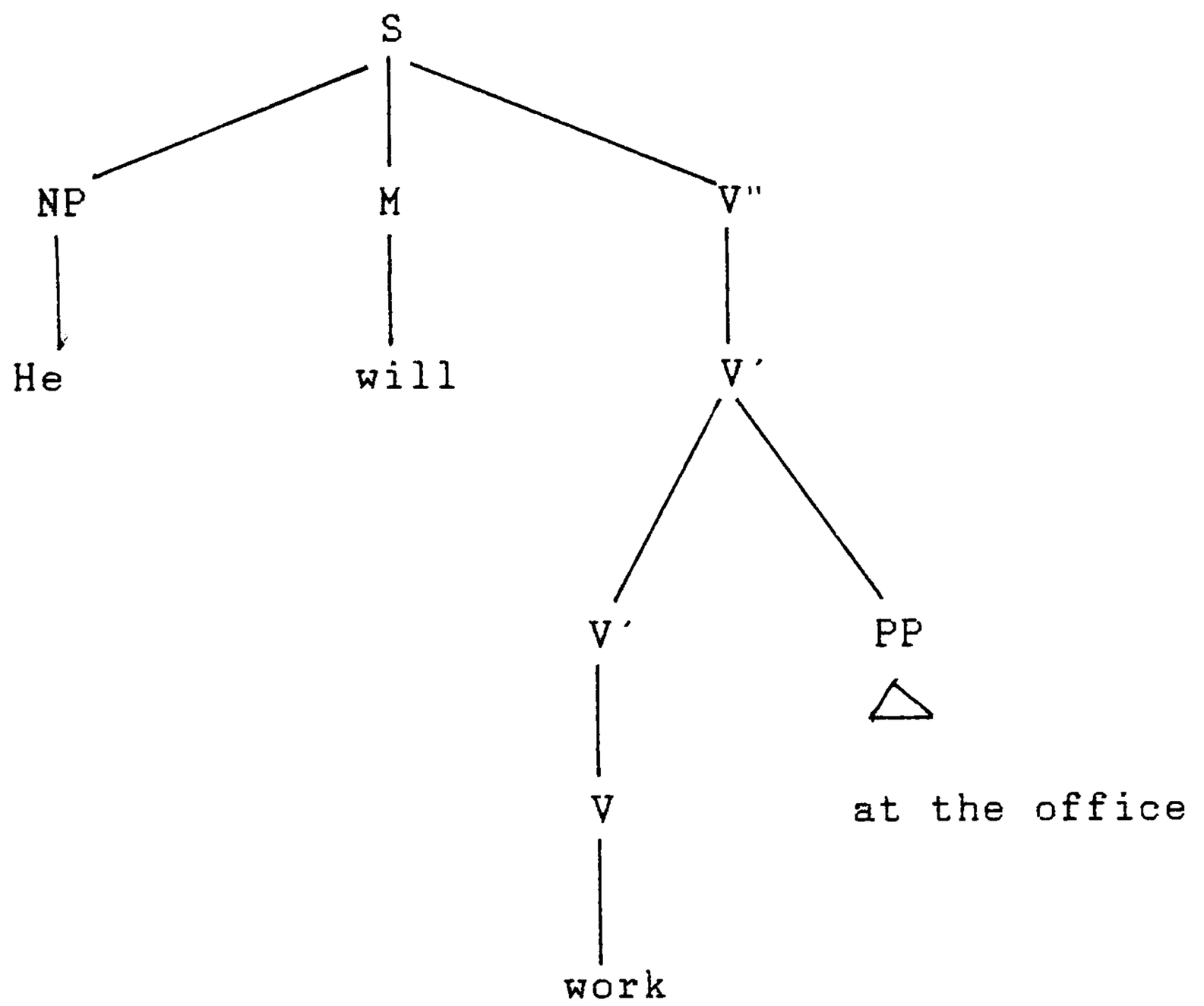
2 He will work [at the job] (=internal postmodifier)

3 He laughed [at ten o´clock] (=external postmodifier)

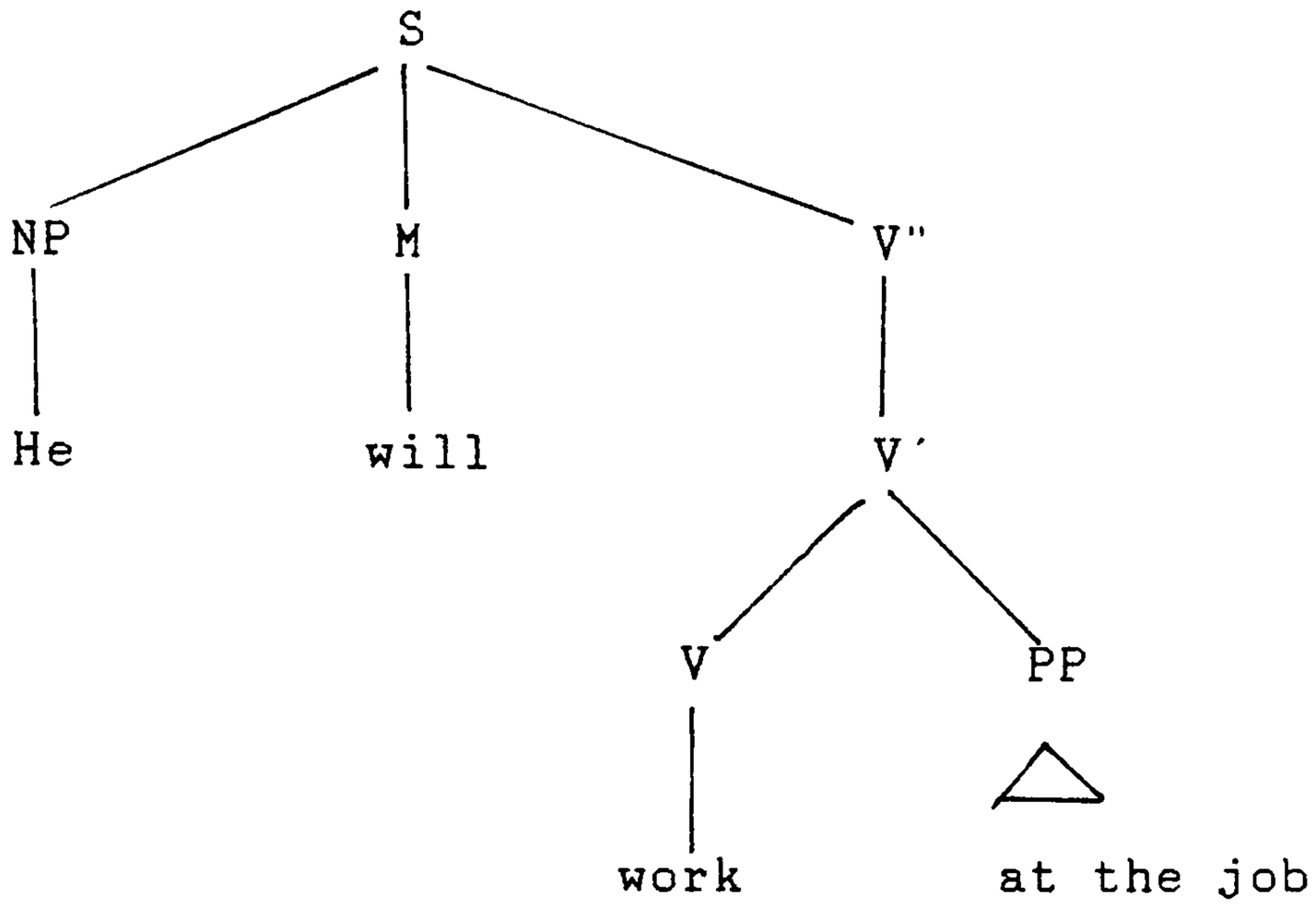
4 He laughed [at the clown] (=internal postmodifier)

Recently, within the X-bar framework, `external´ can be interpreted as `designating an **Adjunct** external to the V-bar containing the head V´ while `internal´ can be interpreted as `designating a **Complement** internal to the V-bar containing the head V.´ Sentences (1) and (2) above therefore will have the respective structures (5) and (6) below (Radford 1988:232):

5 [PP=external=Adjunct]



6 (PP=internal=Complement]



The difference in the above two structures can be explained as follows: The PP in (5) will be the sister and the daughter of V-bar(V′) whereas the PP in (6) will be the sister of V and the daughter of V-bar(V′). In the circumstances, [at the office] is an Adjunct while [at the job] is a Complement. Radford (1988:233-239) puts forward a number of empirical evidence in support of the structural differences between Adjuncts and Complements but it is inappropriate to go into details here.

So, from the point of view of Transformational Grammar, in (6) the verb `work′ subcategorizes a PP Complement. The internal structure of the verb phrase shows that the preposition `at′ goes with the NP `the job′ to form the prepositional phrase [at the job]. Since `work′ is a verb which takes a prepositional phrase after it, it can be called a Prepositional Verb.

Let′s consider the verb MAKE in the following example,

The convoy [made] [for the open sea]

Based on the analysis above, it may be said that there is a strong degree of cohesion between the PP [for the open sea] and the governing verb MAKE and the usage of the verb is an Intransitive Prepositional usage.

It should, however, be pointed out that as far as the verb MAKE is concerned, the Intransitive Prepositional usages are few when compared with the Transitive Prepositional usages. Here are some more examples of Intransitive Preposition Verbs: *make after, make at, make with* etc.

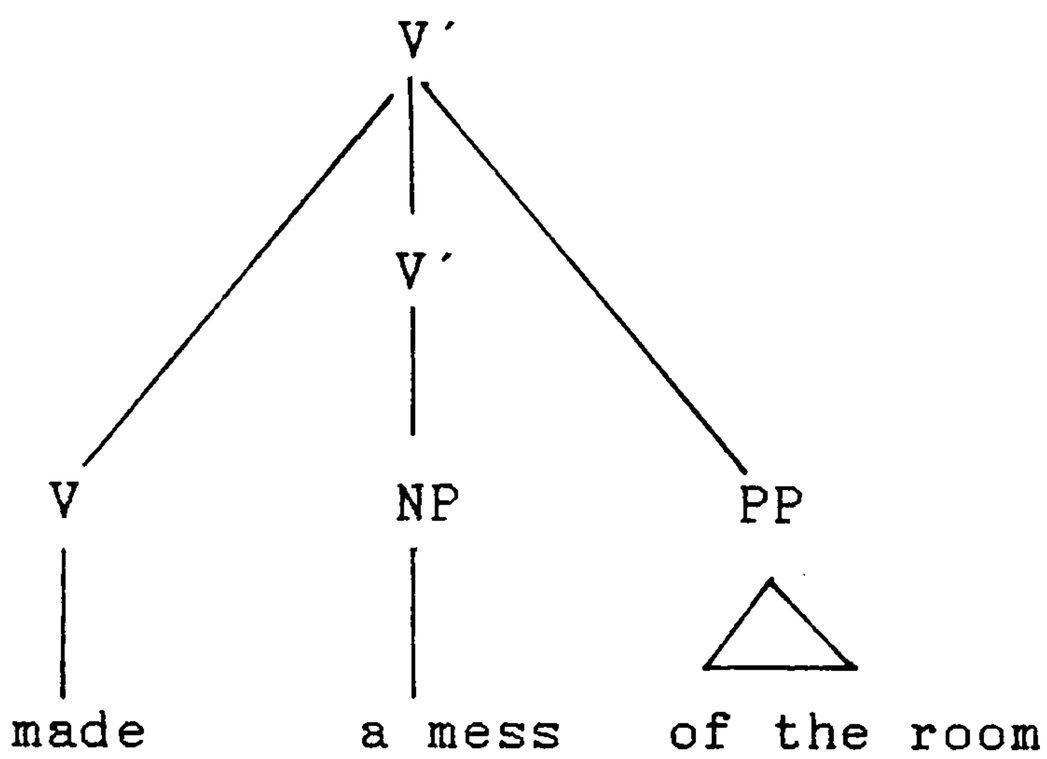
In summary, this section has looked into Intransitive Prepositional Verbs from both the framework of CGEL and TG. It is the position of the latter that has been taken in this study.

5.7.4 Transitive Prepositional Verbs

In the discussion of MAKE as a Monotransitive verb it has been noted that in many instances, MAKE is used with the preposition `of´ and `out of´ to form expressions of the schematic form [V NP PP NP], thus becoming Transitive Prepositional verbs. As a Transitive Prepositional verb, MAKE takes an Object followed by a Prepositional phrase. Consider the following example:

He made a mess of the room

The first NP `a mess´ is the Object of the verb MAKE and the second NP `the room´ is the Object of the preposition `of´ i.e. a Prepositional Object. In TG the above sentence will have the structure below:



The above diagram shows that both the NP [a mess] and the PP [of the room] are Complements of the verb MAKE. There is accordingly a strong cohesion between the Verb, its Object and the Prepositional Phrase. This cohesion, however, is a matter of degree. At this point it may be helpful to refer to CGEL and ODCIE for a more detailed discussion. With reference to these two sources, the Transitive Prepositional Verbs of MAKE may be classified into the following categories:

Category 1: Prepositional usages with the regular passive [Pass] i.e. the Direct Object can be passivized e.g. `make capital of´, `make demands of´:

(1)**A good deal of capital** will be made of their unwillingness

to testify before the Committee (ODCIE)

(2)**Excessive demands** have been made of the spares department: our stocks are down to rock-bottom (ODCIE)

In this category, there is an `idiomatic bond´ between the verb, the object and the preposition. However, it is possible to separate the object from the rest of the construction by the regular passive transformation.

Category 2: Prepositional Usages in which both the object of the verb and the object of the preposition can be passivized i.e. [Pass Pass(o)] e.g. `make an example of´, `make use of´:

(3) `Wasn´t it high time,´ said one letter, `for **an example** to be made of these juvenile thugs ?´ (ODCIE)

(3a)`Wasn´t it high time,´ said one letter, `for **these juvenile thugs** to be made example of ?´

(4) **Effective use** was made of aid sent from overseas (ODCIE)

(4a) **Aid** sent from overseas was made effective use of

In this category, there are two possible passives i.e. (1) the regular passive and (2) a less acceptable passive in which the prepositional object becomes the subject.

Category 3: Prepositional usages in which only the object of the preposition can be passivized i.e. [Pass(o)] e.g. `make fun of´, `make a fool of´:

(5)**His efforts** to improve himself are constantly made fun of (ODCIE)

(6)**We** were all made fools of by some door-to-door salesmen (ODCIE)

In this category of Prepositional Verbs, the direct object is more firmly welded in its idiomatic position and as a result, its separation by means of the regular passive construction is awkward if not impossible.

Category 4: Prepositional usages realized by more or less fixed expressions i.e. [W/O Pass] e.g. `make the best of´, `make a meal of´, `make an exhibition of oneself´ etc. This category is different from Category 3 in that passivization is virtually impossible. However, in some instances, insertions can still be made as in

(7) We must *make the best* **(we can)** *of* the few natural resources we have (ODCIE)

(8) Did you have to *make* **(such a vulgar)** *exhibition of yourself* at the party? (ODCIE)

Category 5: In addition to the above 4 categories, it should be pointed out that there is a prepositional usage which is characteristic of the verb MAKE i.e. [`Make....of´]. This Transitive Prepositional usage usually conveys a causative meaning e.g.

(9) They made a national figure of him.

(10) **A national figure** was made of him.

This usage is similar to Category 1 in that the object can be passivised but it is different in that the object noun is not part of the idiomatic combination.

This construction may in fact be considered as the corresponding construction of the SVO+Nominal Object Complement pattern as shown in

(11) make a national figure of him

(12) make him a national figure

In the final analysis, it should, however, be pointed out that although the above examples are combinations of the schematic form [make+NP+of+NP], the fact is, as a Transitive Prepositional verb, MAKE subcategorizes many prepositions other than `of´ or `out of´. Just to mention a few examples: *make a fuss about/over, make a bolt/dash for, make inroads into, make an attempt on, make a mountain out of a molehill, make a song and dance over, make love to, make peace with* etc.

Moreover, it should also be noted that the delexical use of the verb MAKE associated with the Transitive Prepositional usages is quite common though may not be as common as that of the SVO type e.g. *make a secret of, make demands on, make use of, make a fuss of, make sense of, make a fool of* etc. As suggested in Chapter 4, these combinations are called Delexical Chunks.

In summary, the above discussion is on the Transitive Prepositional Verbs of MAKE. It has been noted that while there is a cohesion between the Verb and the Preposition in the Intransitive Prepositional usage, there is a strong cohesion between the Verb, the Object and the Preposition in the Transitive Prepositional usage. Moreover, 5 categories of Transitive Prepositional verbs have been identified, one of which seems to be characteristic of the verb MAKE. Finally, it has been noted that the Transitive Prepositional usage is also closely associated with the delexical use of the verb.

The following section will look at another type of V+P combinations of MAKE i.e. Phrasal Verbs and the discussion will begin with Intransitive usages.

5.7.5 Intransitive Phrasal Verbs

Briefly, an Intransitive Phrasal Verb is made up of the verb component and the adverb component e.g.

(1)make off [=escape]

The priest struggled up the cliff alone and made off

(ODCIE)

(2)make up [=prepare one´s face, body for a performance in the theatre etc.]

It took Lawrence Olivier more than an hour to make up for the part of `Othello´ (ODCIE)

It may be said that the Intransitive Phrasal usages of MAKE are fewer than those of the Transitive usages.

Some other examples of Intransitive Phrasal Verbs are : *make away, make out* etc.

5.7.6 Transitive Phrasal Verbs

In contrast with the Intransitive Phrasal Verb, the Transitive Phrasal Verb of MAKE is followed by an Object, which may be realized by various structures. For example, the Object may be an `NP´ e.g.

(1)make up [=form, compose, constitute]

What are the qualities that ideally should make up a man´s character? (ODCIE)

(2)make out [=understand the nature of character of somebody]

I really can´t make him out. Why does he offend the very people who try to help him? (ODCIE)

In some instances, the Object may be a `that-clause´ e.g.

(3)make out [= claim, assert, maintain]

I´d just tell them to make out that they were taking the

risk themselves. (ODCIE)

Sometimes the object may even be a `wh-clause´ or `if clause´ e.g.

(4)make out [=understand]

I could never make out if they wanted our help or not. (ODCIE)

These examples at the same time demonstrate the following two points:

1 The same Verb+Adverb combination may have different meanings or in fact, multiple meanings. It may be interesting to know that OED has recorded 14 meanings of the Phrasal Verb `make out´ and one of the meanings can further be divided into 3 sub-meanings. Similarly, 14 meanings of the phrasal verb `make up´ have been recorded and the total sum of sub-meanings amounts to 32!

2 Some combinations may be used both Transitively and Intransitively e.g. *make up, make out.*

Here are some more examples of the Transitive Phrasal Verbs of MAKE: *make out, make out a case, make that out, make over, make up one´s mind* etc.

5.7.7 Transitive Phrasal Verbs and Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

Since Transitive Phrasal Verbs and Intransitive Prepositional Verbs seem to have the same structure, this may be an appropriate place to make a distinction between them. Consider the following:

1 They called [on the dean]. [call on:visit] (Prep V)

2 They [called up] the dean. [call up:summon](Phr V)

Both of the above VPs appear to have constituents of the same schematic form [V P NP]. However, `called on´ in (1) is a Prepositional Verb, while `called up´ in (2) is a Phrasal Verb.

In fact, CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1167) lists 6 criteria for distinguishing between Phrasal Verbs and Prepositional Verbs:

1 The particle of a Phrasal Verb can stand either before or after the noun phrase following the verb, but that of the Prepositional Verb must (unless deferred) precede the noun phrase,

They called on the dean.

*They called the dean on.

They called [up] the dean.

They called the dean [up].

2 When the noun phrase following the verb is a personal pronoun, the pronoun precedes the particle in the case of a Phrasal Verb, but follows the particle in the case of a Prepositional Verb.

They called on [him].

*They called him on.

They called [him] up.

*They called up him.

3 An adverb (functioning as adjunct) can often be inserted between verb and particle in Prepositional Verbs, but not in Phrasal Verbs,

They called [angrily] on the dean.

*They called angrily up the dean.

4 The particle of the Phrasal Verb cannot precede a relative pronoun at the beginning of a relative clause,

The man [on whom] they called

*The man up whom they called

5 Similarly, the particle of a Phrasal Verb cannot precede the interrogative word at the beginning of a wh-question,

[On which] man did they call?

*Up which man did they call?

6 The particle of a Phrasal Verb is normally stressed, and in final position and normally bears the nuclear tone, whereas the particle of a Prepositional Verb is normally unstressed and has the `tail' of the nuclear tone which falls on the lexical verb

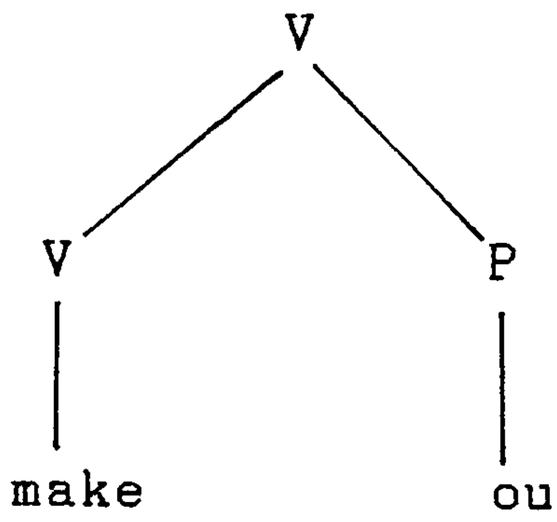
Which man did they `CALL on?

Which man did they call `UP?

This analysis of the distinction between Transitive Phrasal Verb and Intransitive Prepositional Verb is also supported by TG. However, while CGEL describes the differences between Phrasal Verbs and Prepositional Verbs, TG is able to account for the differences between them with reference to the different internal structures.

As mentioned in the Introduction of this chapter, in X-bar syntax, three kinds of modifiers have been suggested: the Specifier, the Complement and the Attribute/Adjunct. It is suggested that while the Complement expands X into X-bar, Adjunct/Attribute recursively expands X into X. This difference between the Adjunct and the Complement has been used to distinguish between `Free Combinations' and Intransitive Prepositional verbs in Section 5.7.3. This Complement/Adjunct distinction may also help to explain the difference in the internal structures between an Intransitive Prepositional verb and a Transitive Phrasal verb.

As mentioned in the Introduction of this chapter, it is claimed that the Phrasal Verb `make out´ will have the following internal structure:



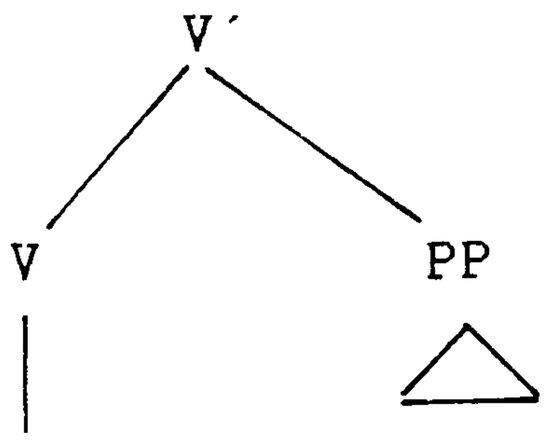
In the above diagram, the Preposition `out´ functions as a V Adjunct, which expands V into V. In what way is the internal structure of this Transitive Phrasal verb `make out´ different from that of an Intransitive Prepositional verb e.g `make for´? Let us consider the following two sentences:

(1) The convoy [made] [for the open sea]

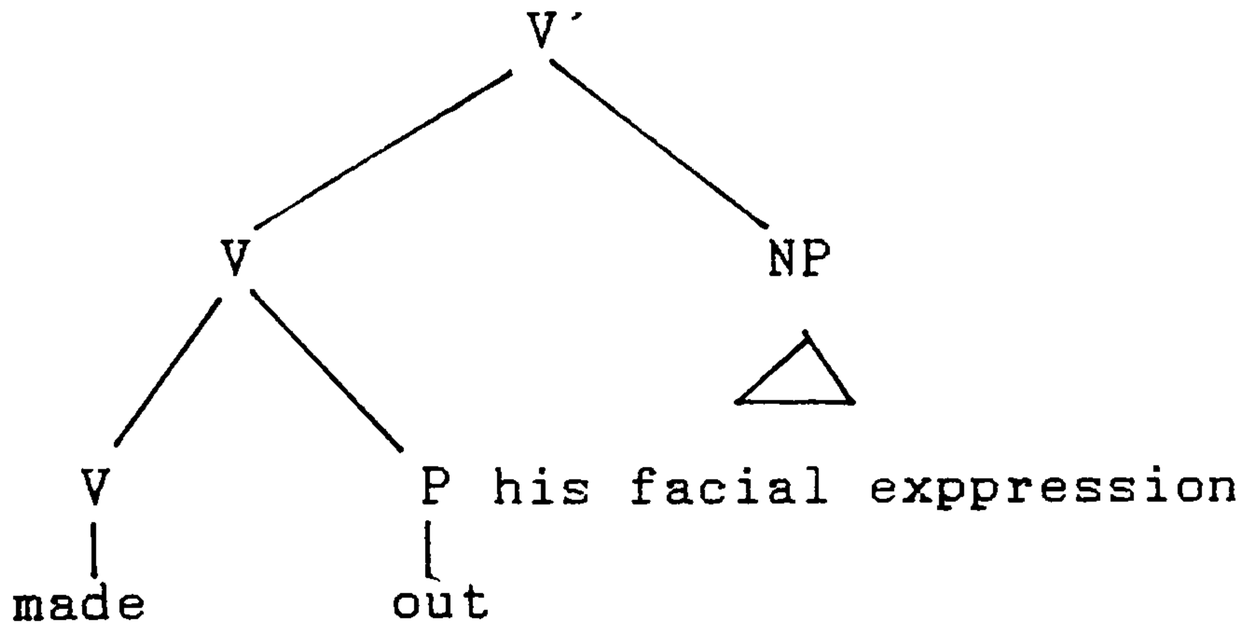
(2) She [made out] [his facial expression]

The internal structures of (1) and (2) can be represented by (3) and (4) below respectively:

(3)



(4)



In (3) the Preposition `for´ goes with `the open sea´ to form the PP [for the open sea] and therefore MAKE is an Intransitive Prepositional Verb subcategorizing a Complement PP (This has already been discussed in detail in Section 5.7.3 on MAKE as an Intransitive Prepositional Verb.) On the other hand, in (4), the Preposition `out´ goes with the verb MAKE to form the complex Phrasal verb `made out´ which is Transitive and which subcategorizes the NP `his facial expression.´ As far as the internal structure is concerned, the PP [for the open sea] expands V into V´ while the Adjunct P [out] expands V recursively into V.

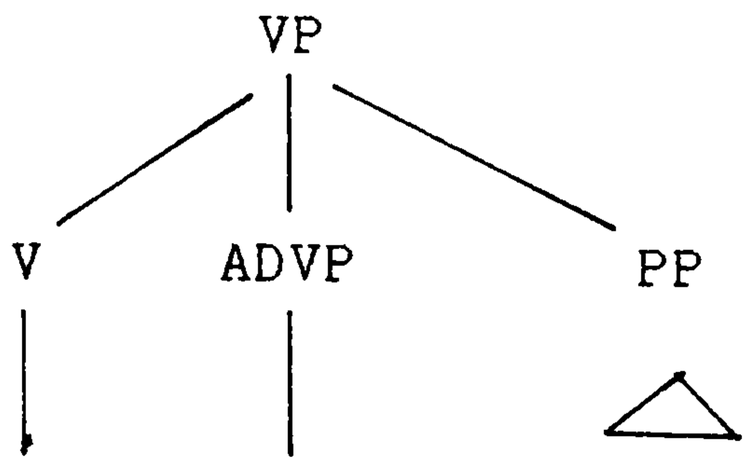
This difference in structure also helps to explain what CGEL has observed earlier i.e. that an adverb (functioning as adjunct) can often be inserted between verb and particle in the Prepositional Verb, but not in the Phrasal Verb. Since VP adverbials e.g. `quickly´, `slowly´ etc. occur in positions where they are attached to a VP node, we should expect that it is possible to position such an Adverbial in between the V `made´ and the PP `for the open sea´ under the VP node and it is impossible to put an adverbial between the V `made´ and the P `out´ under the V node

(5) [made] [straight] [for the open sea]

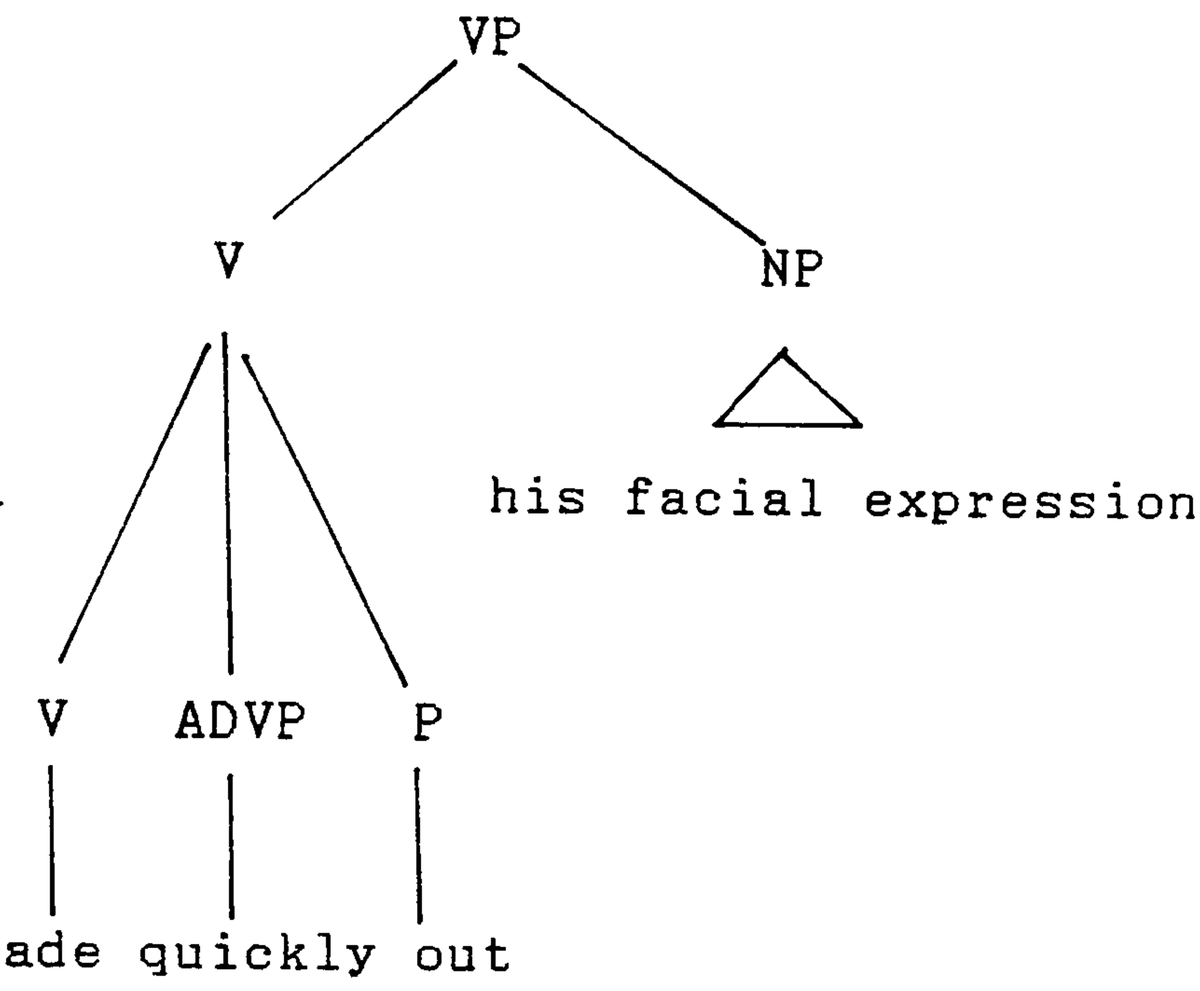
(6)*[made] [quickly] [out] the expression on his face

The respective internal structures (7) and (8) below explain why this is the case:

(7)



* (8)



(7) is grammatical because the adverbial `straight´ is attatched to a VP node whereas (8) is ungrammatical because the adverbial `quickly´ is attatched to a V node.

Radford (1988:99), nevertheless, admits that it is not clear why a Prepositional Verb cannot take a pronoun as the Object while a Phrasal Verb can though he can produce evidence that the status of the particle in the Phrasal Verb is that of a `Preposition´ when it follows the verb and the status is that of a `Prepositional Phrase´ when it follows the Object and is separated from the verb. For a detailed discussion please refer to Radford (1988:99).

Having looked at the categories of Prepositional and Phrasal Verbs, the following will consider the Phrasal Prepositional Verbs.

5.7.8 Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

This is the last category of V+P Combination to be discussed. In brief, a Phrasal Prepositional Verb is a V+P combination which takes an Adverb Particle as well as a Preposition as its complementation. It can be Intransitive as in

(1) make away with [=steal and hurry away with]

While we were having coffee two small boys made away with our suitcases (ODCIE)

or, it can be Transitive as in

(2) make over to [=transfer the ownership of sth (to)]

The best farming land was made over to the younger son (ODCIE)

(3) make up to [=raise to]

You can make the lemonade up to full strength if you add more juice (ODCIE)

Phrasal Prepositional Verbs are few when compared with other categories of the V+P Combination. Here are some examples: *make away with oneself, make up for, make up to, make up for lost time, make it up with* etc.

To sum up the category of V+P Combinations, it may be said that all of them are semantic units which are relatively obscure in meaning though the semantic opacity may be a matter of

degree. Moreover, as far as the grammatical structures of these units are concerned, they are of various degrees of fixity. Another characteristic of these units is that most of them can be used with several or more meanings. On the other hand, it has also been shown that the delexical use is associated mainly with the Transitive Prepositional Verb category. Furthermore, the distinction between Transitive Phrasal Verbs and Intransitive Prepositional Verbs has also been looked into from both the perspectives of CGEL and TG.

5.8 Other Combinations of MAKE

This section will consider other kinds of chunks specific to the verb i.e. Verb+Adjective Combinations and Verb+Verb Combinations.

5.8.1 Verb+Adjective Combinations

In some instances, the verb MAKE is found to be used with a collocating adjective e.g. `make bold´, `make free´, `make glad´, `make merry´ etc. In this regard, MAKE has the meaning of `behaving, acting or moving in a specified way´.

OED (1988:243) records that the construction `to make it´ was used with adjectives as complement in `to make it coy, nice, tough´ etc. The object `it´ was omitted in Old English with adverbs and later with adjectives e.g. `make bold´, `free´, `glad´, `merry´ e.g.

(1)make merry [=be lively in a sociable way]

Wake up, make it lively. This is a wedding. Bring out the bunting, make merry, look alive, if you can. (ODCIE 2)

On the other hand, MAKE is used with collocating adjectives to give such combinations as *make even, make fast, make good, make ready, make sure*, with the meaning of `causing to be or rendering´ e.g.

(2)make good [=do well in life and work]

He was the white-collar one of the family, the one who was going to make good and redeem all their fortunes. (ODCIE 2)

The delexical chunks `make clear´ etc has been looked at in Section 5.2.1.1 and need not be repeated here.

5.8.2 Verb+Verb Combinations

`In these idiomatic constructions, the second verb is nonfinite, and may be either an infinitive or a participle, with or without a following preposition (Quirk et al 1985:1168)´. The Verb+Verb combination of MAKE always takes an infinitive. For example,

make do with [=manage with sth, accept sth, although it is not adequate or satisfactory or desirable]

(1) Sorry! Only potatoes left now. You will just have to make do. (ODCIE)

(2) I didn't have time to buy any food today. You will have to make do with the left-over cold meat from yesterday. (ODCIE 2)

The combination `make do and mend' has a related meaning: [=a policy whereby one continues to manage with equipment, clothing, furnishings, machinery etc which one already posesses, esp by repairing or adapting them] e.g.

(3) The short term dominates every decision, and in the short term Donovan can always make do and mend, always muddle through. (ODCIE 2)

Another Verb+Verb combination of MAKE is `make or break/destroy' e.g.

(4)The women's tongues ruled the neighbourhood. They could make or break a character. (OCDIE 2)

In fact, the same combination can be used as an adjective as shown in

(5)Terrence Hodden is an English bachelor and some sort of `middle manager' who is being given a make-or-break chance.

5.9 Categories for the Analysis of the Corpus on MAKE

Based on the linguistic analysis of the verb MAKE in this chapter, the analysis of the Corpus in the next chapter will be proceeded according to the following categories:

1 Intransitive Usage (SV)

2 Copular Usage

  A. with Subject Complement (SVCs)

  B. with Adverbial Complementaion (SVAs)

3 Monotransitive Usage (SVO)

4 Ditransitive Usage

  A. with the `for´ Prepositional phrase (SVOO)

  B. without the `for´ Prepositional phrase (SVOO)

5 Complex Transitive Usage

  A. with Nominal Object Complement (SVOCo)

  B. with Adjectival Object Complement (SVOCo)

  C. with Adverbial Complementation (SVOA)

  D. with Bare Infinitive Clause

  E. with Ed-Clause

6 Verb+Particle Combinations (V+P)

  A. Prepositional Verbs

  a. Intransitive Prepositional Verbs

  b. Transitive Prepositional Verbs

    i. Make...of

    ii. Pass

    iii. Pass Pass (o)

    iv. Pass (o)

    v. W/o Pass

B. Phrasal Verbs

a. Intransitive Phrasal Verbs

b. Transitive Phrasal Verbs

C. Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

a. Intransitive Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

b. Transitive Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

7 Other Combinations

A. Verb+Verb Combinations

B. Verb+Adjective Combinations

C. Others

The categories listed above provide very sufficient evidence that the verb MAKE has all the various kinds of status an English verb can have and takes as many types of complementation as an English verb can take. As MAKE is a typical member of the Delexical Verb family, the categories of the verb may well be used for the examination of other delexical verbs. The following section will look briefly at two other delexical verbs, namely `give´ and `take´ with reference to the above categories.

5.10 The Delexical Verbs `Give´ and `Take´

On the whole, with one or two exceptional cases, nearly all the syntactic patterns of these two verbs are found with the verb MAKE. The following discussion will begin with the verb `give´.

5.10.1 The Verb `Give´

According to OED (1989:531), the general sense of `give´ is `to make another the recipient of something that is in the possession, or at the disposal, of the subject.´

Generally speaking, the verb `give´ does not take a Copular complementation but it can be used as an Intransitive verb and it can take Monotransitive, Ditransitive as well as Complex Transitive complementation as shown in the following examples:

(1)The catch suddenly gave and a hundred and fifty seven empty bottles tumbled onto the floor (SV)

(2)How much will you give me for my old car? (SVO)

(3)He gave me a present (SVOO)

(4)The centre forward was given offside (SVOA)

There is a Complex Transitive use of the verb in which the Object is followed by a to-infinitive clause e.g.

(5) We are given to believe/understand that there will be an election soon

This usage is generally found to be used with the passive.

However, the Intransitive, Monotransitive and Complex Transitive Usages of the verb are few when compared with its Ditransitive usages. In this respect, it is worthwhile going into greater detail.

While the Indirect Object of MAKE is paraphrased by a Prepositional phrase headed by the preposition `for´, the Prepositional phrase of `give´ is headed by the preposition `to´. Example (3) above can be paraphrased as (6) below:

(6)He gave a present **to me**.

Moreover, while the most typical role of the Indirect Object is that of the recipient participant i.e. `of the animate being that is passively implicated by the happening or state´, the semantic role of the Indirect Object may also be an affected participant when `give´ is used as a delexical verb:

(7)He gave **her** a present (recipient indirect object)

(8)He gave **her** a nudge (affected indirect object)

Furthermore, quite a lot of the delexical structures of `give´ are of the SVOO type e.g.

(9) She gave the door a push

(10)She gave Etta a quick, shrewd glance

CCEG (Sinclair et al 1990:150) explains that the Ditransitive Delexical Structure is used when activities which involve someone else, apart from the subject are described. Some examples of the nouns used with the verb `give´ are: clue, glance, hint, hug, kick, kiss, look, punch, push, ring, shove, slap, squeeze and welcome.

CCELD (1987) classifies the nouns in the delexical structures of `give´ semantically into several groups. There are nouns that express physical actions: chuckle, cry, gasp, giggle, grin, groan, laugh, scowl etc. e.g.

(11)Jill gave an immense sigh.....(CCEDL)

This usage suggests that `the action is involuntary or that it is not necessarily directed at other people. (Sinclair et al 1990:149).

There are nouns that express speech actions e.g.

(12)My father gave me all the information I needed (CCELD)

`By using "give" you can avoid saying what the report, account etc, was actually about,´ remarks CCELD.

There are also nouns which express opinions, thoughts, decisions etc e.g.

(13) She hadn´t bothered to give it particular thought (CCELD)

In some cases, the nouns may be swear words to express indifference, dislike etc e.g.

(14) He clearly didn´t give a damn about his passengers

Finally, the nouns may be related to speaking or performance in public e.g.

(15) He doesn't often give interview (CCELD)

As far as the Verb+Particle combinations of the verb `give´ are concerned, the Intransitive Usage is rare when compared with the Transitive ones. Moreover, the usages of Prepositional Verbs are not as many as those of the Phrasal verbs. It is, however, interesting to note that many of the Prepositional Verbs are related to the Ditransitive pattern with `to´: e.g. *give birth to, give rise to, give credence to, give currency to, give an ear/eye to, give the lie to, give place to, give teeth to, give thought to, give tongue to, give voice to, give way to, give weight to, give credit to* etc.

On the other hand, the Phrasal Verb combinations of `give´ are as many as that of MAKE. Except for a few Intransitive Phrasal Verbs such as `give in´ and `give over´, most Phrasal Verbs are Transitive e.g. *give away, give back, give off* while a few of them can be used both Transitively and Intransitively e.g. *give in, give out, give up* etc. The Phrasal Verb `give up´ in particular is used with numerous senses. Cowie et al (1975) record twelve subsenses (only one of which is used intransitively):

(16)You give up [=admit defeat] too easily! (ODCIE)

(17)For no apparent reason Mathew gave up [=leave] his lucrative job in the City and emigrated to Canada. (ODCIE)

(18)When she realized that she would have to give up [=hand over custody of] her children, she dropped the idea of getting a divorce (ODCIE)

Apart from Verb+Particles, the chunks of `give´ are realized by other patterns as well. Just for a few example: *give ground, give and take, give somebody a blank cheque, give somebody furiously to think* etc. However, it is the combinations in the form of Ditransitive structures that are most numerous.

Indeed, ODCIE 2 (Cowie et al 1983:xxxiii) identifies a kind of clause idiom called `possessive´ idioms in the sense that `they make use of the same verb (principally *get, give and have*) as ordinary non-idiomatic sentences concerned with ownership or change of ownership.´ For example, although the following sentences have the same structure,

(19)Father gave John a brand-new bicycle

(20)Father gave John a good idea of the problems

they are different in that the second example contains an idiom. ODCIE 2 further points out that the Indirect Object corresponds to the Subjects of `get´ and `have´ in the following sentences:

(21)John got a brand-new bicycle

(22)John had a good idea of the problems

Here are some more examples of `give´ used as `possessive´ idioms from the same dictionary: *give sb a taste of their own medicine, give sb cold feet, give sb a lift, give sb a break, give sb the benefit of one´s advice* etc. This structure is used even in `Sayings´ e.g. give sb an inch (and he´ll take a mile).

In addition, the verb `give´ has been found to be used in a lot of informal expressions. Some examples from CCELD are listed hereunder:

(23)I can´t take too much reality. *Give me* passion, romance

(24)*Don´t give me that*!

(25)You are a bloody good liar, I´ll *give you that*!

(26)They were young enough to *give as good as* they *got* in rugby practice

The above is a brief discussion of the verb `give´. In addition to its being distinguished by delexical usages, a great number of the chunks of the verb are realized by structures of the SVOO type which include the structure with `to´ in many Prepositional Verbs e.g. `give rise to´ and the structure without `to´ in many idiomatic usages e.g. `give somebody a lift´.

The following will look briefly at another delexical verb `take´.

5.10.2 The Verb `Take´

OED (1989:557) has a very interesting record of the history of `take´ but it is not intended to go into detail here. In brief, the general or ordinary sense of the verb is `to transfer to oneself by one´s own action or volition (anything material or non-material)´. This general sense may in turn be sub-divided into the following two senses:

1 seize, grip

2 receive, accept

Subordinate to these are the non-material senses of `assume, adopt, apprehend, comprehend, comprise, and contain.´

OED remarks that the verb `take´ `is one of the elemental words of the language, of which the only direct explanation is to show the *thing* or *action* to which they are applied.´

By an large, the verb `take´ can be used as an Intransitive Verb, a Copular Verb, a Monotransitive Verb, a Ditransitive Verb and a Complex Transitive verb as shown in the following examples respectively:

(1)You need a few minutes for cortison to take (SV)

(2 The hay making took a week (SVA)

(3)The army took many prisoners (SVO)

(4)She took him some flowers (SVOO)

(5)We were lucky to be taken alive (SVOC)

As the Monotransitive and Complex Transitive usages of the verb `take´ are more various and more interesting, the following discussion will concentrate on these two kinds of complementation of the verb.

As a Monotransitive verb, `take´ generally takes subjects which are animate and objects which may be concrete: `take his hat and go´, `take food´, `take opium´ or objects which may be abstract: `take tuition´, `take care´, `take charge´ etc.

The verb `take´ is distinguished from `make´ and `give´ in that it is not usually used in continuous tenses. Here are some examples from OALD:

(6) I´d like you to take this bracelet as a gift.

(7) Does the hotel take traveller´s cheques?

(8) Dr Brown takes some private patients.

(9) The bus takes 60 passengers.

(10)Take a seat.

(11)She can´t take criticism.

(12)How am I supposed to take that remark?

(13)He takes the view that people should be responsible for their actions.

It is difficult to make a generalization about the object-noun as they may be both material and non-material. Nevertheless, the meaning of the verb in the examples above can be said to be

largely non-material. For example, the meaning of `seize´ or `grip´ which may also be conveyed by the verb is non-existent in any of the above examples.

Besides taking a noun as the Object, in some cases, `take´ may have the Object in the form of ing-clauses e.g.

(14) She didn´t seem to take[=require] much persuading. (OALD)

The verb may also be used with the dummy subject `it´ to convey the same meaning e.g.

(15) It takes time for her to recover from the illness.

In addition, the V+O structure is sometimes followed by phrases beginning with the prepositions `with´, `to´ and `from´:

(16)Don´t forget to take your umbrella with you when you go (OALD)

(17)She takes her children to school by car (OALD)

(18)The machine takes its name from its inventor (OALD)

Moreover, the Monotransitive usage of the verb is associated with its delexical use. As mentioned in Chapter 4, `take´ is close in meaning to `have´. In cases where the Objects of these two delexical verbs overlap, `have´ is the typical British English and `take´ is the typical American English (Quirk et al 1985:752):

(19)take (i.e. have) a break, a holiday, a rest

(20)take (i.e. have) a bath, a shower, a wash

Furthermore, with reference to CCELD, object nouns of `take´ may refer to physical actions. In such circumstances, `using "take" shows that the action is a separate and deliberate one, and not something that goes on indefinitely´ e.g.

(21)He took a very deep breath

The object-nouns may mean `photograph´ e.g.

(22)I took a magnificent photo of him

They may refer to a particular role e.g.

(23)The new government took office in July

or they may refer to decisions or choices e.g.

(24)They were prepared to take risks

They may also denote effort and care e.g.

(25)...the dress she had taken so much care to choose

or they denote the time when people are not working e.g.

(25)Let´s take a break

Sometimes they may refer to an attitude or opinion e.g

(26)The public was beginning to take a positive interest in defence

or acceptance of responsibility e.g.

(27)She doesn't expect you to take the blame

It can therefore be said that the verb `take' is used with various groups of nouns in its delexical usages. However, it should also be pointed out that such usages are also found with some of the Transitive Prepositional Verbs e.g. *take care of, take part in, take note of* etc.

As a Complex Transitive verb, apart from taking Adjectival Object Complements and Nominal Object Complements as in (28) and (29) below :

(28)We were lucky to be taken alive

(29)The enemy took him prisoner

the verb `take' may be followed by an adverbial e.g.

(30) His parents are keen to take the matter further

or a `to-infinitive' clause as in

(31) What did you take his comments to mean?

In this kind of usage, as CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:1204) observes, `take´ belongs to the group of `private verbs expressing belief´ and is often used passively.

The Object of `take´ may even be followed by an ING clause,

(32)I´m taking the children swimming/for a swim

The examples above have demonstrated that the verb `take´ determines various kinds of Complex Transitive complementation.

Regarding the Verb+Particle combinations of the verb `take´, they are as numerous as those of MAKE if not more so. The Prepositional Verbs may be Intransitive or Transitive as shown hereunder in (33) and (34) respectively:

(33)You must take after father. I don´t. I long to have lashings of cash (ODCIE)

(34)You never took any interest in what he said (ODCIE)

As mentioned earlier, some Transitive Prepositional usages are delexical usages.

Similarly, the Phrasal Verbs include Transitive usages e.g. *take apart, take away, take back, take down, take in* etc. and Intransitive usages e.g. *take off, take over* and so on. There are also Phrasal Prepositional verbs e.g. *take up for, take up with*

etc. Among the various Phrasal Verbs, *take in, take off, take on, take out* and in particular *take up* are used with numerous meanings.

Besides chunks in the form of the V+P combinations, the chunks of `take´ are realized by a huge quantity of Verb+Object combinations such as *take advantage (of), take a degree, take one´s chance, take effect, take an examination, take exception (to), take pains, take offence (at), take the initiative* and so on. Chunks of other structures are also found: *take sth hard/lightly/serious, take it, take it or leave it, take the cash (in hand) and let the credit go* etc. It is again quite obvious that the structures of these chunks are related to the grammatical structures of the verb.

In conclusion, the brief study of the delexical verbs `give´ and `take´ above shows that except for one or two occasions, the two verbs can appropriately be described by the categories of MAKE. Moreover, it has been found that like the verb MAKE, these two verbs may enter into various kinds of relations with other words giving a large number of combinations of varying idiomatic status. One of the most distinguishing characteristics of the two verbs is, of course, their delexical usage, a feature shared by MAKE and other members of the Delexical Verb family. This characteristic may well be regarded as one of the characteristics of the English language because though there are few delexical verbs therein, all of them are extremely common verbs frequently used in the speech of the British people.

5.11 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to make a linguistic analysis of the verb MAKE so as to provide relevant categories for the corpus analysis of the same verb in the next chapter.

The linguistic analysis has shown that it is suitable to have chosen the verb MAKE for the study as it has a remarkably full list of categories when compared with other English verbs. Moreover, the verbs MAKE, GIVE and TAKE are sufficiently close in their behaviour for MAKE to be regarded as a `representative' of this delexical verb family.

Secondly, it is appropriate to have adopted Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (Quirk et al 1985) as the main framework of linguistic analysis as it is a grammar which is comprehensive enough for the present purpose and on the whole supported by Transformational Grammar (Radford 1988). On the other hand, TG has proved to be particularly helpful in examining the internal structures of Transitive and Intransitive Prepositional Verbs as well as in distinguishing the structural differences between Intransitive Prepositional Verbs and Transitive Phrasal Verbs.

Thirdly, it is also justifiable to have looked at both the syntax and the semantics of the verb MAKE simultaneously with syntax superordinate. The reason is that there is a very close relationship between these two elements and their association is best demonstrated by examining at the same time both the

grammatical patterns into which the verb enters and the meanings with which the verb is used in these patterns. For example, when used as a Copular verb, MAKE tends to take a Subject Complement with the semantic role of characterization attribute carrying a favourable connotation as in

She would make [a great artist] (SVCs)

For another example, when used in the Complex Transitive pattern which is realized by a Nominal Object Complement, the verb MAKE conveys the meaning of `appointing´ as in

They made him the president of the club (SVOC)

However, when the Complex Transitive complementation is realized by an Adverbial, it may convey the meaning of `moving towards a certain direction´ as in

They made their way towards the platform (SVOA)

On the other hand, when the Complex Transitive complementation contains a Bare-infinitive clause, the verb will have the meaning of `causing´ as in

The onion made my eyes water. (SVO+Bare Inf Cl)

So, the usages of the verb are best understood by considering both the syntax and the semantics of the verb together as the association between the two elements is so close that it is more

meaningful to consider them at one go. Moreover, the examination of the verb with syntax superordinate has made it possible for a very clear and systematic analysis of the verb itself. Indeed, it is on the basis of the syntactic classifications that the intertwining relationship between the syntax and the semantics of the verb is best demonstrated.

Fourthly, the linguistic analysis of the verb MAKE in this chapter has shown quite clearly that words can rarely properly be considered as discrete entities but are more profitably examined in their close relation with other words and that the meanings of words are very often derived from the linguistic contexts in which they are used. More importantly, common words in the language such as MAKE may enter into various kinds of relations with many other words. These relations may be grammatical, semantic or lexical and it is these relations that account for the tens of thousands of chunks in the language. As the verb MAKE is also a delexical verb, an important kind of chunks associated with it is inevitably the delexical chunks.

It has also been observed that the meaning of certain chunks may be more transparent than the others, and the grammatical structures of some chunks may be more fixed than the others. For instance, the meaning of `make a cup of coffee´ is obviously more transparent than `make a face´ and the grammatical structure of `make a meal of it´ is clearly more fixed than `make use of´. It is, therefore, justifiable to view idiomaticity on a contiuum. This view of idiomaticity implies that a V+O delexical chunk such as `take a walk´ may be nearer the non-idiomatic end of the

cline while a V+P combination such as `make up´ may be nearer the idiomatic end of the same cline. There are, no double, numerous chunks of various degrees of idiomaticity along the cline. This view of idiomaticity at the same time implies that in the whole area of deciding what are chunks or non-chunks, there are bound to be fuzzy edges, but this does not take away from the importance of these concepts.

In addition, the analysis has shown that there is some ground for assuming that there is a certain association between grammar and idiomaticity since quite a number of idiomatic expressions of the verbs under study are related to the basic patterns into which these verbs enter e.g. make...of : `make a man of him´; give+N+N: `give somebody cold feet´; give+N+to: `give birth to´ etc.

In conclusion, it should be said that a linguistic analysis of the verb has revealed that words are always used in the company of other words and therefore chunks (i.e. a word and the company it keeps) should be regarded as an important feature of the language. It is, accordingly, necessary to find out in a more accurate way how chunks are actually used in the language before considering the implications for teaching. For this purpose, an analysis of the same verb based on a sample of modern English language is to be undertaken in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Mini Corpus Analysis

6.1 Introduction

While the various kinds of company the verb MAKE enters into have been investigated in the last chapter, this chapter goes on to the study of how MAKE and its neighbouring words are actually used in the English language. The difference between this chapter and the preceeding one is not merely that the examples in the last chapter are taken from the corpora such as the Brown Corpus on which CGEL is based while the examples in this chapter are taken from the Birmingham Corpus. The crucial difference actually is that this chapter is a quantitative analysis showing not only what is related to grammar but also what is actually most widely used. It is believed that the results of the analysis will probably shed light on features or aspects of the language which may well be useful and important in language learning and language teaching.

6.1.1 The Source of the Data

The data on which the present study is based have been taken from the 7.3 million word Corpus provided by the University of Birmingham.

For some considerable time, the Birmingham University has embarked vigorously on the study and processing of essentially raw text. The 7.3 million word Corpus is directly related to a

project called the Cobuild Project which is within a new section of the English Department of the Birmingham University. All aspects of the work of the Cobuild Project are related in some way to corpus analysis. One of the largest undertaking was concerned with the compilation of a dictionary of current English, which was subsequently published in 1987 and named the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary. It was this dictionary project that provided the stimulus for the development of the Birmingham Main Corpus.

In brief, the Birmingham Main Corpus is a large corpus of `general´ English. This Main Corpus is a body of written text and transcribed speech. As a matter of fact, this Main Corpus continues to grow. The long term plan is to treat it as a `monitor´ corpus (Sinclair 1982) which can be manipulated to reveal insights into the state of the language at a given time. In the past ten years, the size of this Main Corpus has grown from 5 million words to 20 million words and is now known as `The Bank of English: An International Language Corpus´ (Collins Cobuild 1991:Correspondence).

The 7.3 million word Corpus from which the data of this study have been taken is a `sample´-type corpus from the Main Corpus when it amounted to 12 million words. This 7.3 million word Corpus is `static´ when compared with the Main corpus and is the entity which researchers most regularly work with. It is made up of some 6 million words of written text, and 1.3 million words of transcribed speech (Renouf 1984:4). That is to say, about 82% of the language is written and 18% spoken. Although the spoken

component is small in comparison, there is no equivalent in the Brown or Lob corpora. Another advantage of this Corpus over the other corpora is that the collection of samples is much bigger. More importantly, these samples reflect current language usage in the form of `normal, adult, educated native-speaking English'. The text on which the Corpus is based is taken from books, newspapers, brochures, leaflets, printed and hand-written letters and the spoken language in the Corpus is based on series of informal conversations, radio programmes dealing with current affairs, fine arts etc.(Renouf 1984:5). In addition, the data are provided in the form of concordanced lines, thus supplying adequate grammatical and lexical contexts for the understanding of the verb under study (Stock 1983:132). Finally, by limiting the description to the features existing in the data provided, one is confident that the language material is reliable. This is especially the case when the researcher is a non-native speaker.

6.1.2 The Language under Study: The Mini Corpus

On request the researcher was supplied with a bulk of 4000 occurrences of the verb MAKE in the 7.3 million word Corpus which includes all the examples of the lemma form `making' and `makes' and a good proportion of `made.' In computational linguistics, all forms, including the base form of the word, can be subsumed under the term `lemma' (Sinclair & Renouf 1988:147). Further sampling has been taken by using every second occurrence of all

the three lemma forms, thus reducing the data under study to a total of 2000 examples. These 2000 occurrences of MAKE include the following:

LEMMA FORM	OCCURRENCE
makes	386
making	567
made	1047
Total	2000

For practical reasons, the term `**Mini Corpus**´ will be used henceforth in the study to refer to the 2000 examples of MAKE under study. A copy of the data of each of the three lemma forms is attached in the Appendix.

In order to test whether any particular form of the verb MAKE behaves in much the same way as all the forms together, one of the lemma forms `making´ has been selected for comparison with the whole Mini Corpus. The following is a summary of the findings:

Table 6.1 A summary of the usages of the various categories of `made´, `makes´ & `making´ in comparison with `making´ in percentages.

USAGE	2000 OCCURRENCES OF `MADE´ `MAKES´ & `MAKING´	567 OCCURRENCES OF `MAKING´
Copular NP Sub Comp	1.4	0.2
Copular Adv Comp	0.1	0.2
Monotransitive	55.1	54.5
Ditransitive	0.4	1.1
Ditransitive (for)	0.5	0.5
SVO+Adj Comp	16.8	16.0
SVO+NP Comp	4.0	2.6
SVO+Adv Comp	0.5	0.5
SVO+Bare-inf	10.9	10.8
SVO+Ed Clause	0.6	0.9
Intran Prep Verb	0.8	0.2
Tran PV:Of	0.7	0.7
Tran PV:Pass	2.1	1.9
Tran PV:Pass Pass(O)	2.3	3.9
Tran PV:Pass (O)	0.8	0.5
Tran PV:W/O Pass	1.0	2.1
Intran Phr Verb	0.1	0.4
Tran Phr Verb	0.9	2.5
Intran Phr Prep Verb	0.1	0.5
Others	0.5	0.0

The table above seems to indicate that there is no big difference between the frequency of the various usages of the lemma form `making´ and the three lemma forms combined. As a matter of fact, in order to find out whether the differences are

statistically significant, the Chi-Square test has been applied and there is no evidence to reject the hypothesis that the observed frequencies (i.e. three forms combined) fit the matching frequences (i.e. the lemma form `making´).

6.1.3 The Analysis

In the analysis the verb MAKE and the company it keeps will first be looked at from a linguistic perspective and from as many points of view and in as much detail as possible for the sake of comprehensiveness and for the avoidance of any prejudgement about any issues. Any details or correspondence that seem significant from a linguistic or pedagogic point of view will then be looked at closely. It is believed that a deeper understanding of how the language is actually used by its speakers will very likely assist in identifying how the language may be learnt more efficiently as what is interesting linguistically may also be useful pedagogically. Moreover, the usefulness may be relevant not only to the learners but also the language teachers themselves.

6.1.4 On Quantitative Analysis

Generally speaking, the analysis has been made with reference to the categories provided by the linguistic analysis of the verb MAKE in the preceeding chapter. As far as the nature of the analysis of the Mini Corpus is concerned, it can be said that it is both quantitative and qualitative.

It is quantitative as the study is an investigation into the various kinds of usages of the verb MAKE, in particular the usages in chunk form. As there are as many as 2000 examples in the Mini Corpus, the SPSS-X programme has been used to find out the relative frequency of various values of the same variable and also in comparing the values of different variables. In addition, Graphics such as Bar-charts and Pie graphs have been used when they help to give a clearer presentation of the results of the analysis. The qualitative side of the analysis takes care of the linguistic features which are found in the Mini Corpus but which cannot be described appropriately by statistical means.

The quantitative analysis employed in the study, however, does not imply that the researcher believes absolutely that language can be examined in a binary way as language is never neat and tidy and there are always fuzzy edges. In fact, in any study that employs quantitative materials, the findings thereof can only indicate a trend because there are so many fuzzy edges about which rough and ready decisions have to be made. The researcher, however, has been prepared to make these decisions and at the same time prepared to argue through all the fuzzy cases, each one on its own merit but for this inevitably rough and ready look at the language under study, it is unavoidable that some quite autocratic decisions have to be made. Where possible, colleagues and linguists working on related areas have been consulted when the published works cannot provide any satisfactory answers. In the circumstances, the results of the analysis can only show a particular **tendency** of language use especially when taking into consideration the fact that the

original base for the data is not the whole of the English language and even within the 7.3 million word Birmingham Corpus it is not every example of MAKE but just two thousand examples that have been examined.

It may be helpful to give an example of how rough and ready decisions are sometimes made. Take the criteria for the V+O chunks for example. The term chunk has already been described in detail in Chapter 3. Briefly, it is a company of words which frequently go together. As far as the Monotransitive usage (SVO) is concerned, it is the verb and the object noun that will determine whether the combination is a chunk or not. In computational lingustics, the collocational relationship between the Verb and the Object is very often considered as a purely statistical matter, which has already been reported in great detail in Section 1.3.3 and need not be repeated here. When one is working with a large corpus of data like the Birmingham Corpus, there are good reasons for placing frequency i.e. `whether two words are found together more often than expected by chance´ as the ultimate criterion for determining whether a combination is a `collocation´ or not. The value of this approach can hardly be disregarded. However, it is justifiable to use other criteria in conjunction with the criterion of Frequency and therefore in the study the following three criteria have been taken into consideration together:

1 Meaning: whether the combination gives rise to a special sense of the component element(s) (Aisenstadt 1979, 1981; Cowie 1978,1981).

2 Collocability: whether the combination freely allow(s) substitution (Aisenstadt 1979,1981; Cowie 1978, 1981).

3 Relative Frequency of Usage in the Mini Corpus

In the study, whether a combination should be regarded as a chunk is considered according to the above three criteria. Take the combination `make money´ for example. This combination is considered as a chunk while `make a few shillings´ and `make enormous sums´ are not. In all these three combinations, the meaning of MAKE i.e. `acquire´ is different from that of `construct´ as in `He made a kite.´ However, it should also be taken into consideration that MAKE is a polysemous word the meaning of which varies according to the collocating object. Combinations such as `make a few shillings´ and `make enormous sums´ are not regarded as chunks on the ground that when MAKE=acquire, the N slot in the V+N combination is open to endless substitutions e.g. MAKE a lot of money/ all these thousands/ an average income/ forty-nine quid etc. The combination `make money´, on the other hand, is an idiomatic expression with the meaning `to obtain wealth´. Any replacement in the part of the verb or the noun will give the combination a different idiomatic status as in `acquire money´ or `make an enormous sum´.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that only idiomatic expressions are regarded as chunks. Take the combinations `make a noise´ and `make a hole´ for example. The meaning of MAKE is more or less

the same in both cases: `to produce´ in a wider sense. However, `make a noise´ is considered a chunk while `make a hole´ is not. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the frequency of `make a noise´ is much higher in the Mini Corpus than `make a hole´ and secondly, in the combination `make a noise´ the verb does not have a very distinct meaning of its own and most of the meaning is in the noun, which results in the delexical use of the verb and the V+O combination has become a delexical chunk.

Moreover, it has to be emphasized that the criteria for the identification of V+N chunks discussed so far are relevant and in fact have been applied to the identification of chunks of other types in the analysis.

In a nutshell, all the three criteria listed earlier have been taken into consideration whenever possible and whenever necessary especially with fuzzy cases where a rough and ready decision has to be made prior to proceeding to the next stage of the quantitative analysis.

6.1.5 The Treatment of the Passive Forms in the Analysis

A few words should also be said about the treatment of the Passive forms in the analysis. Briefly, the Passive forms of MAKE will be considered with regard to their Active forms for reasons spelled out below.

The Active and the Passive were described in terms of `transformational rules´ by the Chomskyans or as `semantic equivalence´ or `paraphrase´ by the Quirkians i.e. `a relation or mapping between two structures X and Y, such that if the same lexical content occurs in X and in Y, there is a constant meaning relation between the two structures´ (Quirk et al 1985:57).

As Quirk et al (1985:57) say, the change from active to passive relation involves the following:

(a) The active subject potentially becomes the passive agent

(b) The active object becomes the pasive subject

(c) The preposition `by´ is introduced before the agent.

Some examples:

1 John made a kite	[SVO]
2 A kite was made.	[S Vpass]
3 John made a kite for Mary	[SVOO]
4 A kite was made for Mary	[S Vpass A]
5 John made the kitchen into a sitting room	[SVOA]
6 The kitchen was made into a sitting room	[S Vpass A]

The passive sentences (2) (4) and (6) above do not only show the the change from active to passive verb phrases but also the change in clause types. However, the examples at the same time show that there is no change in the facts reported in these four

cases. John is in all these four cases the `performer of the action´, even though structurally, the NP [John] has a very different position and function in each. That is to say, though the corresponding Active and Passive sentences appear to be radically different, the relations of meaning between their elements remain the same e.g. (1) has the same truth value as (2) and (3) the same as (4) etc. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that corresponding Active and Passive sentences always have the same truth value nor that there is always an active form corresponding to the passive.

Anyway, as far as the verb MAKE is concerned, there are obviously constant meaning relations between the Active and Passive sentences. For this reason and for the more important reason that it will assist in making really fruitful generalizations related to the findings of the analysis as a whole, it has been decided that the Passive forms in the Mini Corpus will be considered according to their Active forms, and the whole issue of Passive usages in the Mini Corpus will be systematically looked at separately in due course.

6.2 An Outline of the Findings of the Corpus Analysis

This section will give a general outline of the results of the analysis of the Mini Corpus and a detailed discussion of each category will be conducted in the following few sections.

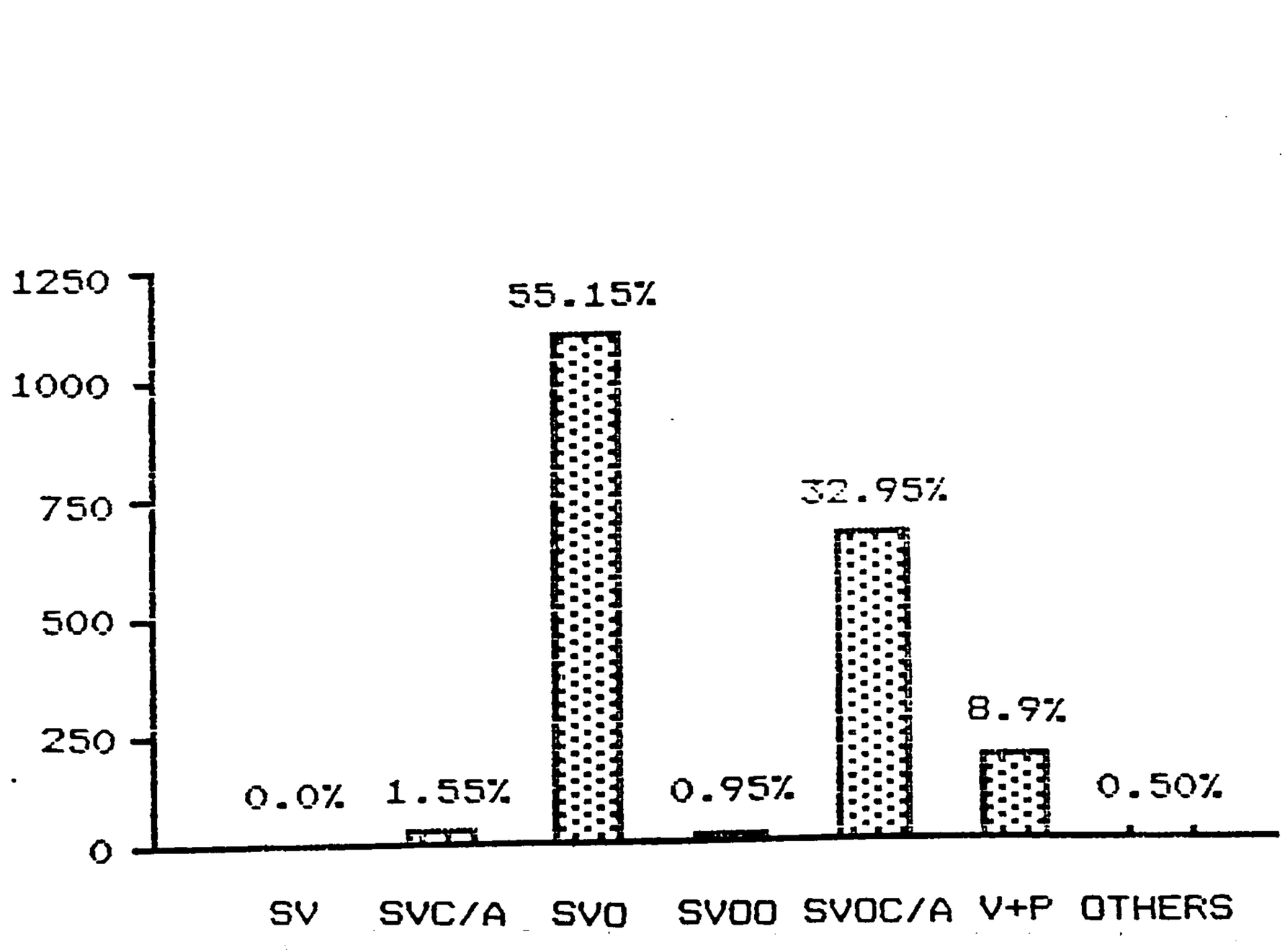
6.2.1 Relative Frequency of the Various Types of Usages

First of all, the relative frequency of the various kinds of usages of the verb MAKE in the Mini Corpus is summarized by Table 6.2 and represented by Fig 6.1 below:

Table 6.2 Frequencies of the various kinds of usages of MAKE in the Mini Corpus

USAGE		FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Intransitive	(SV)	0	0.00
Copular	(SVC/A)	31	1.55
Monotransitive	(SVO)	1103	55.15
Ditransitive	(SVOO)	19	0.95
Complex Transitive	(SVOC/A)	659	32.95
Verb+Particle Combinations	(V+P)	178	8.90
Other Combinations	(OTHERS)	10	0.50
TOTAL		2000	100.00

Fig. 6.1 Frequencies of the various kinds of usages of MAKE in the Mini Corpus



The following points may be made about Table 6.2 and Fig 6.1 above:

1 Apparently, the distribution of the various types of usages in the Mini Corpus is very uneven.

2 MAKE is used most frequently as a Monotransitive verb in the Mini Corpus. In fact, the total number of Monotransitive usages is greater than the total number of all other kinds of usages combined together.

3 The second most frequently used pattern is the Complex Transitive pattern. A more detailed analysis has revealed that the distribution of the various types of Complex Transitive patterns in the Mini Corpus is also very uneven and this will be discussed in greater detail in due course.

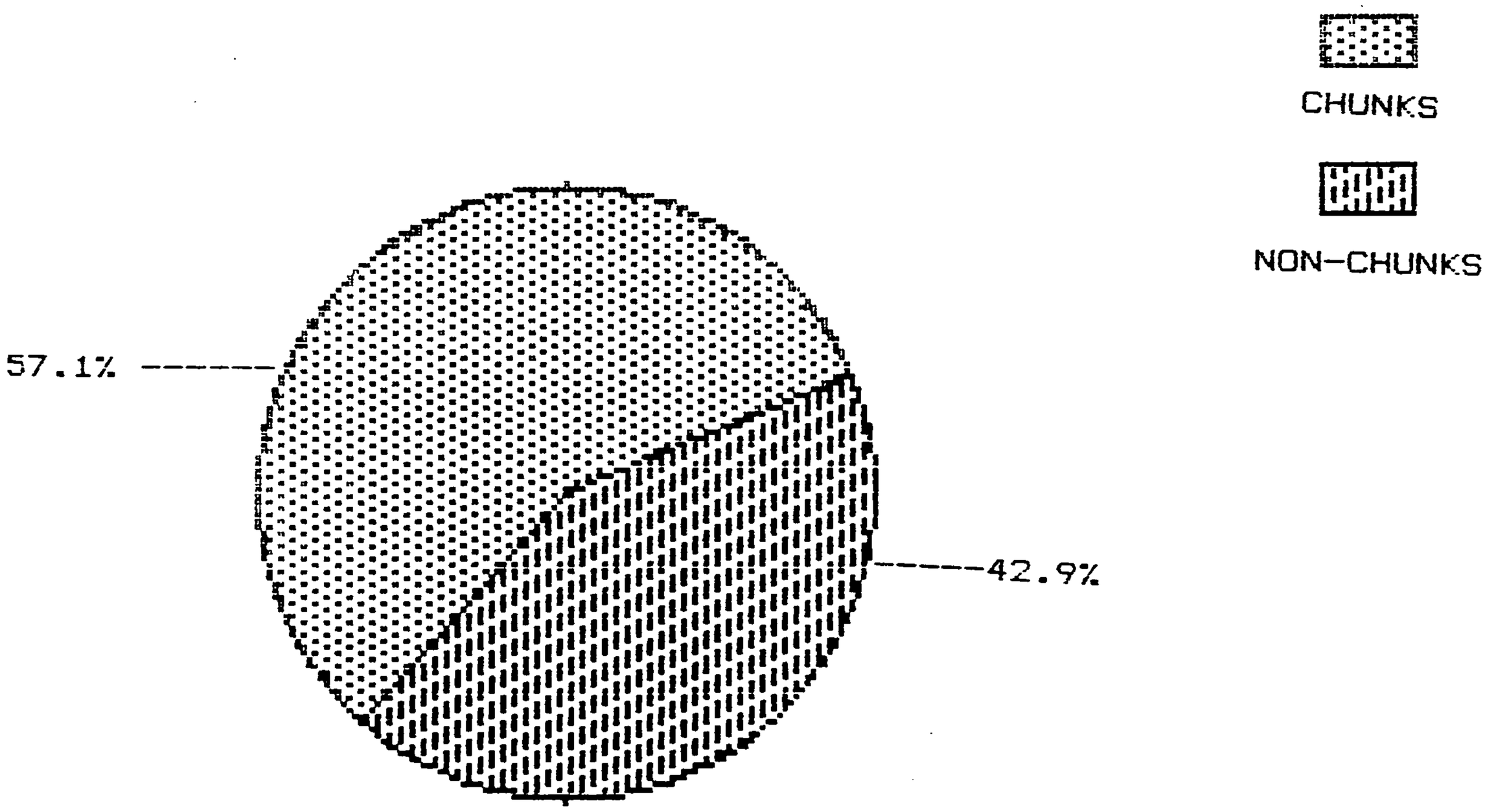
4 The Copular usages of MAKE are few when compared with other usages but the Ditransitive usages are even fewer. The Intransitive Usages are totally absent.

5 Quite unexpectedly, the categories `V+P´ and `Other Combinations´ in total constitute only 9.4% of the total number of usages in the Mini Corpus.

6.2.2 Frequency of Chunks and Non-Chunks

A preliminary analysis of the data has shown that among the 2000 usages of the verb MAKE, 1142 i.e. 57.1% of them are in chunk form and 858 of them i.e. 42.9% are in the form of non-chunks as represented by Fig. 6.2 below:

Fig. 6.2 Proportion of Usages in Chunk and Non-Chunk forms in the Mini Corpus.



The relative frequency of usages in chunk form of the various categories is summarized in Table 6.3 below:

Table 6.3 Frequency of Chunks of the Various Main Categories. (The third column shows percentages in relation to the total number of Chunks and the fourth column percentages in relation to the total number of Usages in the Mini corpus.)

USAGE	CHUNK	PERCENTAGE IN 1142	PERCENTAGE IN 2000
SV	0	0.00	0.00
SVC/A	3	0.30	0.15
SVO	900	78.70	45.00
SVOO	2	0.20	0.10
SVOC/A	49	4.30	2.45
V+P	178	15.60	8.90
OTHERS	10	0.90	0.50
TOTAL	1142	100.00	57.10

The table above gives the following information:

1 An overwhelming majority of chunks in the Mini Corpus are of the Monotransitive type. In fact, while the proportion of Chunks to Non-Chunks in the Mini Corpus is 57.1% and 42.9% respectively, the proportion in the SVO type of usage in particular is 78% and 22% respectively.

2 Though the Complex Transitive usage is the second most frequent usage in the Mini Corpus, this category constitutes only 4.3% of usages in chunk form.

3 The small proportion of chunks of the Copular and the Ditransitive usages is understandable as the actual occurrences of these categories are few in the Mini Corpus.

4 It should be remembered that all usages under the categories `V+P´ and `Others´ are automatically chunks as items in these categories are generally considered as `idioms´ though the term `chunks´ in the study include items other than idioms i.e. items of various degrees of idiomaticity.

6.2.3 Frequency of Delexical Chunks

A further analysis has revealed that among the 1142 chunks in the Mini Corpus, as many as 894 of them i.e. 78% are in the form of Delexical chunks while only 248 of them i.e. 22% are in the form of Non-delexical chunks. That is to say, a big majority of the chunks in the Mini Corpus are delexical chunks. Frequency of the delexical chunks of the various main categories in the Mini corpus is summarized in the following table:

Table 6.4 Frequency of the Delexical Chunks of the various Categories. (The third column shows percentages in relation to the total number of Delexical Chunks and the fourth column percentages in relation to the total number of 2000 usages in the Mini Corpus.)

USAGE	DE-CHUNK	PERCENTAGE IN 894	PERCENTAGE IN 2000
SV	0	0.00	0.00
SVA/C	0	0.00	0.00
SVO	770	86.10	38.50
SVOO	1	0.10	0.05
SVOC/A	48	5.40	2.40
V+P	75	8.40	3.75
OTHERS	0	0.00	0.00
TOTAL	894	100.00	44.70

It is quite obvious from Table 6.4 above that a great majority of delexical chunks in the Mini Corpus are of the Monotransitive type. This is not surprising as the SVO category accounts for nearly 80% of the total number of usages in chunk form in the Mini Corpus.

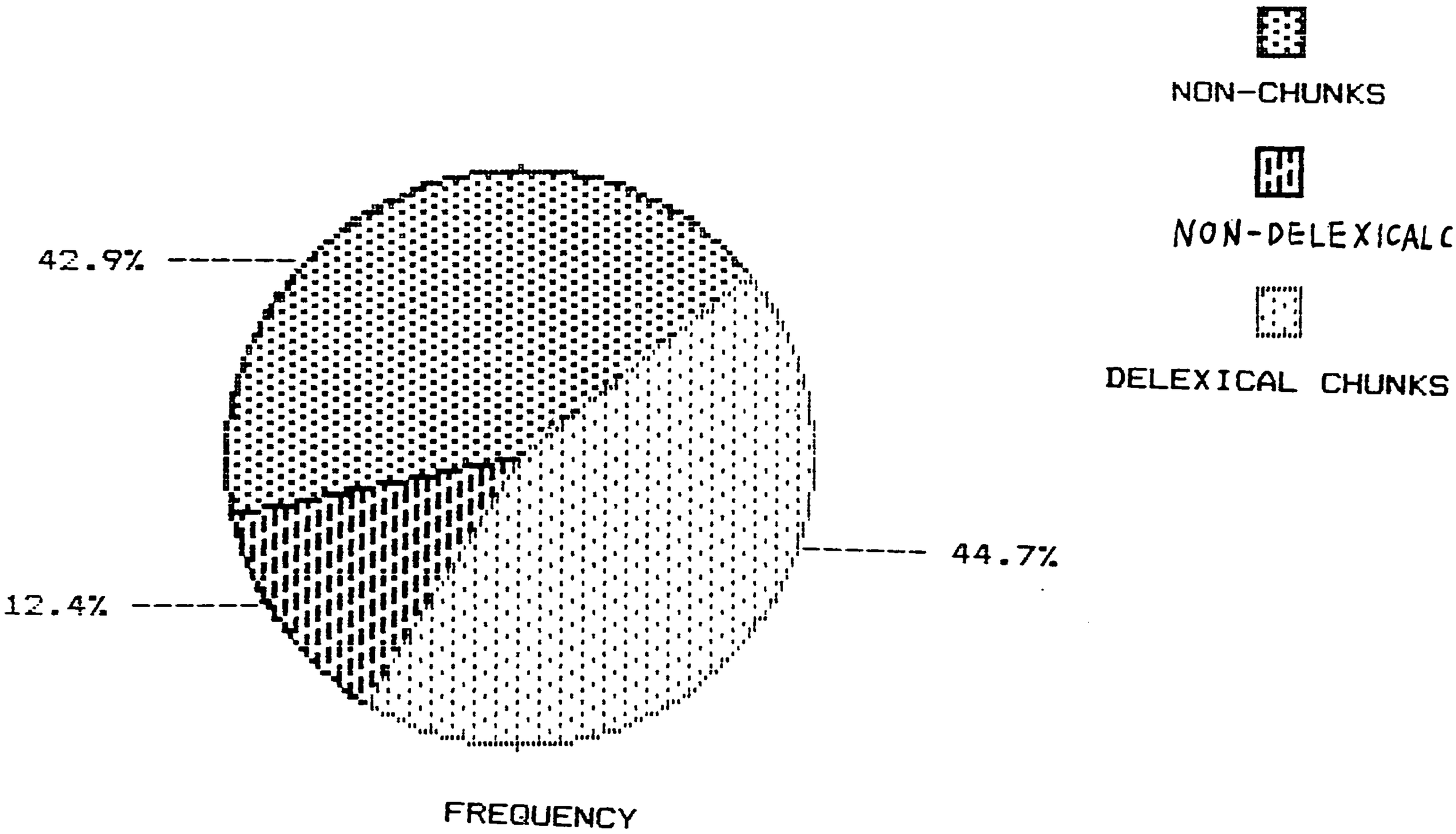
As the V+P category includes both the Phrasal verb and Prepositional Verb categories, it should be pointed out that all the delexical chunks are of the latter category. Greater details will be elaborated in due course.

Similarly, delexical usages of the Complex Transitive Category have been found to be limited to certain sub-categories and, in actual fact, limited to a few items. This will also be discussed further later.

6.2.4. Summary

In brief, the total number of usages in the form of Non-Chunks, Delexical Chunks and Non-delexical Chunks in the Mini Corpus is summarized in Fig 6.3 below:

Fig 6.3 Frequency of the usages of Non-chunks, Delexical Chunks and Non-delexical Chunks in the Mini Corpus.

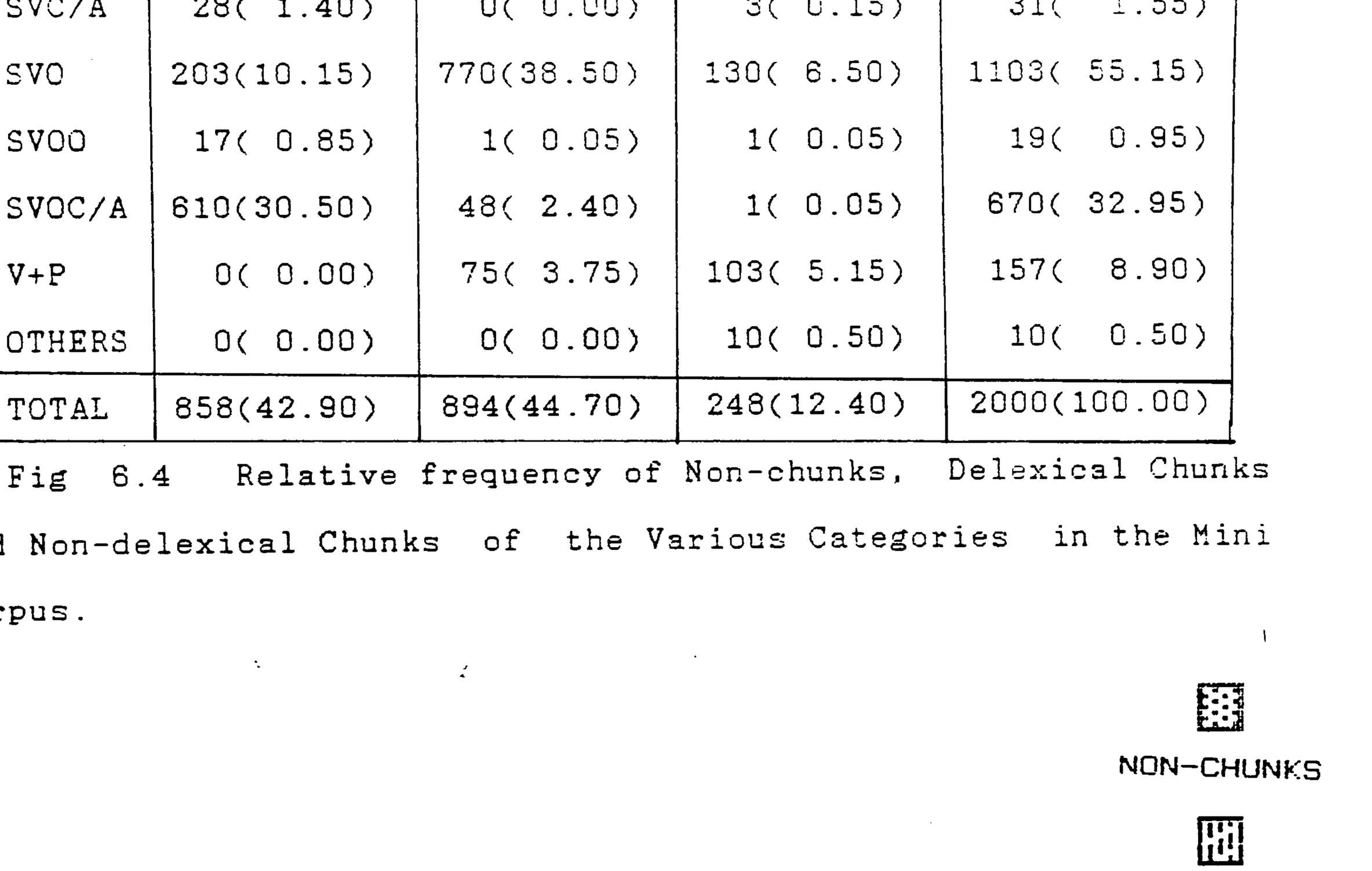


On the other hand, the distribution of Non-chunks, Delexical Chunks, and Non-delexical chunks in relation to each of the main category of the Mini Corpus is illustrated in Table 6.5 and represented by Fig 6.4 below:

Table 6.5 Relative frequency of Non-chunks, Delexical Chunks and Non-delexical Chunks of the Various Categories in the Mini Corpus (Percentages in relation to the total of 2000 examples are provided in brackets).

USAGE	NON-CH	DEL-CH	NON-DEL CH	TOTAL
SV	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)
SVC/A	28(1.40)	0(0.00)	3(0.15)	31(1.55)
SVO	203(10.15)	770(38.50)	130(6.50)	1103(55.15)
SVOO	17(0.85)	1(0.05)	1(0.05)	19(0.95)
SVOC/A	610(30.50)	48(2.40)	1(0.05)	670(32.95)
V+P	0(0.00)	75(3.75)	103(5.15)	157(8.90)
OTHERS	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	10(0.50)	10(0.50)
TOTAL	858(42.90)	894(44.70)	248(12.40)	2000(100.00)

Fig 6.4 Relative frequency of Non-chunks, Delexical Chunks and Non-delexical Chunks of the Various Categories in the Mini Corpus.



The discussion above has given a general outline of the findings of the analysis of the Mini Corpus on the verb MAKE. The overall impression is that the usages in chunk form account for more than half of the total number of usages in the Mini Corpus and, more importantly, a majority of the usages in chunk form are delexical. The following few sections will look at the findings concerning the individual categories. It has to be repeated that all the examples used in the following discussion are from the Mini Corpus and exceptions will be specified.

6.3 Intransitive Usage (SV)

Although MAKE can be classified as an Intransitive verb e.g. with the meaning `to shuffle´ in card games and `to rise´ when referring to the tide according to the linguistic analysis of MAKE in the last chapter, no Intransitive usages of the verb are found in the Mini Corpus. So, though Quirk et al (1985:1169) claim that Intransitive Verbs are numerous, Intransitive usages of certain verbs may be rare. This is at least true with the verb MAKE as revealed in the Mini Corpus.

6.4 Copular Usage (SVA/C)

As shown in Table 6.2, only 31 occurrences of MAKE are used as a Copular verb in the Mini Corpus. A closer look at the data has indicated that among these 31 occurrences, 28 of them are of the SVCs type and only 3 of them of the SVAs type. The following will first look at the SVCs type.

6.4.1 SVCs

The 28 occurrences of the SVCs type confirm the description in the last chapter that when used as a Copular verb, MAKE takes a Nominal Subject Complement but not an Adjectival Subject Complement. Moreover, all the cases show the semantic role of the Subject Complement as characterization attribute.

The various kinds of meaning conveyed by this particular usage have already been discussed in the last chapter. In the Mini Corpus, in most of the cases, MAKE is used to convey the meaning `to constitute´ e.g.

(1)...his narrative of those days in Peacemaking makes poignant reading

In a fair number of cases, the verb conveys the meaning `to serve or function as´ e.g.

(2) The house that we passed so slowly made good cover for snipers, and one B-40 rocket....

At the same time, it is very interesting to find that the Nominal Subject Complements in nearly half of the examples are about `reading´ or `the theatre´ e.g. `a different story´, `good reading´, `quaint reading´ or `a much better play´, `as good a play´ etc. This may possibly be a reflection of the cultural life of the speakers of the language under study.

Similarly, it is interesting to find that in a large number of the cases, the Nominal Subject Complements usually contain Adjectives which carry favourable connotations. This is true whether the nouns denote things or people e.g.

(3) a much better play

(4) a magnificant theatrical drop-set

(5) a good starting point

(6)a good Minister

(7)a wonderful Oedipus

(8)a respectable quartermaster

In addition, a group of examples in the Mini Corpus have shown the use of the past conditional tense of the Copular verb e.g.

(9) would have made a much better play

(10)would have made a wonderful quartermaster

The tense used obviously indicates the speakers' failure to achieve the aims which could have been realized but eventually were not.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that the proportion of spoken language in this particular type of usage is higher than the proportion in the Mini Corpus. This will be discussed in greater details in the section on Spoken and Written language.

6.4.2 SVAs

As mentioned earlier, the Mini Corpus also contains three instances where MAKE takes a complementation realized by an Adjunct in the form of an adverbial clause. Interestingly, both kinds of adverbial clauses described in the last chapter are found in the Mini Corpus i.e. the clauses beginning with `as if´ and `like´. All the three examples are listed below:

(1) He made **as if** to go

(2) Captain Imrie made **as if** to follow

(3) I run down towards them, **making like** a messenger

In summary, the analysis has shown that the usages of the SVCs type are more frequent than those of the SVAs type. Moreover, as far as the SVCs type is concerned, it is very interesting to note that the Nominal Subject Complements usually refer to `reading´ and `the theatre´ and that they usually contain Adjectives denoting positive attitudes or values. These usages seem to indicate a certain kind of association between syntax and semantics.

6.5 Monotransitive Usage (SVO)

As illustrated in Table 6.2, 1103 instances of the Monotransitive usage of MAKE are found and they constitute 55.15% of the total number of usages in the Mini Corpus. Moreover, it has also been shown that 900 i.e. 81.6% of the usages of the Monotransitive pattern are in chunk form, 85.6% of which are in

the form of Delexical chunks and 14.4% in the form of Non-delexical chunks. That is to say, when compared with the Mini Corpus as a whole, the proportion of Delexical chunks is 25.1% higher.

6.5.1 Meaning

Since the Monotransitive usage is the most frequent type of usage in the Mini Corpus, it might be worthwhile finding out more precisely the meaning with which it is most frequently used.

In the last chapter, 5 categories of meaning have been put forward and they are repeated below for ease of reference:

(1) to construct

(2) to produce in a wider sense

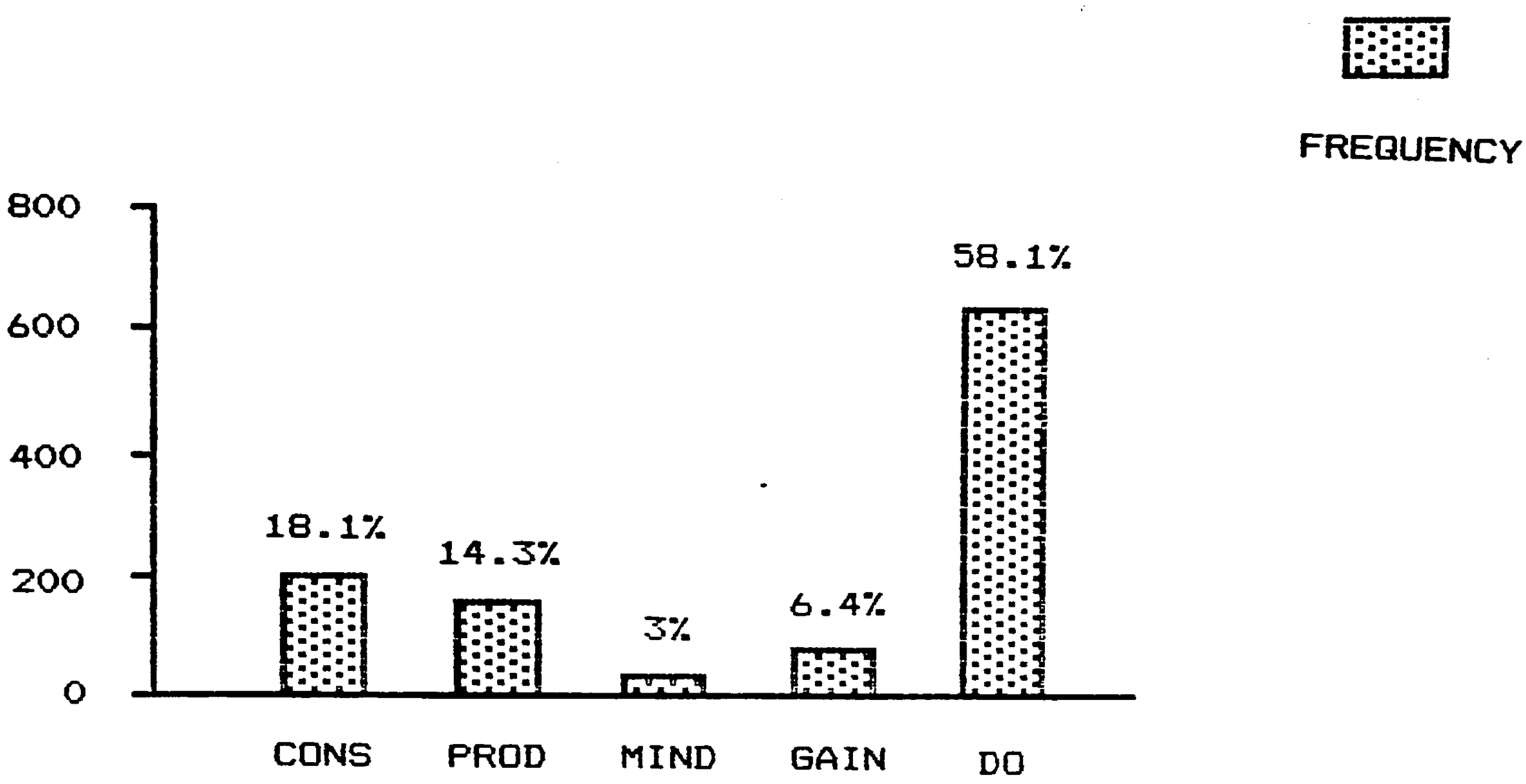
(3) to frame in the mind

(4) to gain

(5) to do in a general sense

Of these 5 categories of senses, the frequency in the Mini Corpus is summarised in Fig 6.5 below:

Fig 6.5 Frequency of the Various Kinds of Meaning of the Monotransitive Usages in the Mini Corpus.



The above findings are both expected and unexpected. The unexpected aspect is that as the core meaning of MAKE is generally assumed to be that of `constructing´ i.e. Category (1) as used in `make a table´, `make a dress´ etc., this core meaning should be more frequently used but such, however, is not the case. The figure above shows apparently that more than half of the Monotransitive usages are used with the general sense of `doing´ e.g. *make a speech, make a decision, make a success, make a journey* etc. In this respect, MAKE has gone through the same process as some other words in the English language where the logically core meaning has ceased to be most important or most commonly used.

On the other hand, the findings support the statement made by many lexicographers that one of the characteristics of the verb MAKE is that it is often used with a noun with a corresponding verb the meaning of which is equal to the verb and object noun combined i.e. the delexical use of the verb. As a matter of

fact, most of the usages in the Mini Corpus with sense categories (2), (3) and (5) are delexical usages. The following will look at these usages in greater detail.

6.5.2 Delexical Chunks

It has been reported at the beginning of this section that among the 900 chunks of the SVO type, 770 i.e. 85.6% of them are delexical chunks and this proportion of delexical chunks is 25% higher than that in the Mini Corpus.

As demonstrated in the chapter on Delexical Verbs, the Verb+Object combinations may be classified into two types: those where the object-nouns have corresponding verbs and those where they do not. Table 6.6 below shows the frequency of these two types of delexical chunks:

Table 6.6 Delexical Chunks of the Monotransitive Usages:

DELEXICAL CHUNK	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1 with Corresponding Verbs	691	90
2 without Corresponding Verbs	79	10
TOTAL	770	100

The table indicates very clearly that an overwhelming majority of the Delexical Chunks are with corresponding verbs. Here are some examples from the data:

make a bid	(to bid)
make no other arrangements	(not to arrange)
make a careful search	(to search)
make discoveries	(to discover)
make payment	(to pay)

Moreover, further analysis of the data has found that about 1/4 of these chunks are followed by collocating Prepositions which are in turn followed by Prepositional Objects e.g.

make a contrast with

make a distinction between

make a contribution to

make an impact on

make an appeal to

In this regard, the collocating prepositions are determined by the corresponding verbs of the object-nouns e.g. `contrast with´, `distinguish between´, `contribute to´, `impact on´ and `appeal to´. Generally speaking, the meanings of these V+N combinations are usually transparent.

Besides, it has also been found that about 156 instances (i.e. 20%) of the Delexical Chunks with corresponding verbs form idiomatic combinations where the verb+noun combinations give a meaning which is different from the verb and the noun combined together e.g.

(1) make a change

[=bring about an improvement to the present conditions]

(2) make a move

[=take some action]

(3) make a decision

[=decide especially after previous consideration or doubt]

(4) make a speech

[=speak formally to an audience on a specific subject]

(5) make sense

[=be intelligible; convey a meaning]

(6) make a difference

[=affect, influence; alter,change things]

(7) make love (to)

[=kiss and caress; have sexual intercourse with]

The idiomatic meaning in these combinations is, of course, a matter of degree. The meaning of `make a difference´ is, for example, more opaque than that of `make a change´.

As illustrated in table 6.6 above, the Delexical Chunks without corresponding verbs constitute only 10% of the total number of delexical usages. Some examples from the data are : `make a noise´, `make an effort´ and so on.

So, although Quirk et al (1985:750-752) make a distinction between Delexical Chunks with corresponding verbs and those without, they have failed to point out the high frequency of the usages of the former type as well as the importance of the type with idiomatic meaning.

6.5.3 Postmodifiers and Adjuncts

It has also been noted that in the Monotransitive usage of MAKE, the SVO pattern is usually followed by other structures. For instance, the Objects are often followed by Postmodifiers in the form of Relative clauses, Apositive clauses, Non-finite clauses or Prepositional phrases. However, it is the Prepositional Phrases which are the most frequently used in the Mini Corpus. For instance, the most typical Prepositional Phrases are those beginning with `of´,`on´ and `about´:

(1)..all those assembled made loud sounds *of pleasure*

(2 ..he makes the judgement *on,er, on what to do next*

(3)..because that newspaper had made disparaging remarks *about his wife*

On the other hand, the Monotransitive usages are quite frequently followed by Adjuncts in various forms. But again, it is the Adjuncts in the form of Prepositional Phrases that are most frequently used. Some examples of Space Adjuncts from the Mini Corpus are shown hereunder:

(4)..Mrs Oliver made a brief note *on the telephone pad*

(5)When he had made efforts *towards the end*, to reassert his..

Some examples of Process Adjunct:

(6)Some preparations could therefore be made *by US forces in*

Italy to..

(7)..where she had made a great success *as Hedda*

Here are also some examples of other types of Adjuncts:

(8)They made art *in response to the god-like forces*

(9)..had a long-standing commitment *to making a weekly cash payment to mothers,*

The frequent use of Adjuncts found in the Mini Corpus gives support to the claim that the `A-element´ is the next most frequently used clause element after `S´ and `V´ (Quirk et al 1985:478). Moreover, the findings that the Prepositional Phrases are the most frequent type of Adjuncts agree with the findings of the study based on the Survey of English Usage Corpus which has revealed that about 41% of the Adverbials were realized by Prepositional Phrases and, more significantly, in that study equal quantities of written and spoken material were examined (Quirk et al 1985:489).

6.5.4 Collocating Prepositions

It may also be interesting to mention that results of the analysis have confirmed the fact that used in sense (1) i.e. `constructing´, MAKE collocates very frequently with prepositions such as `with´, `of´, `out of´ and `from´. As a matter of fact, about 17 occurrences of `make..from´ are found in the Mini Corpus, most of which are used in the Passive e.g.

(1)..as if they'd been made from sticky candy floss

(2)..with the manic invention of a flute made from a human armbone

When a Preposition is found to keep company with a Verb so frequently and so fixedly, it is justified to say that the status of the collocating preposition is different from other prepositions. Indeed, Quirk et al (1985:710) have described these prepositional phrases as phrases `in complementation of verbs'. Following their argument, sentences such as

(3) He made the frame out of wood

may be categorised as an SVOA usage i.e. the Adverbial is an obligatory element in the sentence. In fact, the status of the Adjunct is more difficult to classify when the usage is in the Passive e.g.

(4) The frame was made out of wood

However, in the Mini Corpus analysis, optional/obligatory adjuncts have been classified according to the criteria suggested by CGEL (Quirk et al 1985:510) which states that `the optional status of adjuncts in SVO clauses can be tested by observing that the relations between V and O remain constant irrespective of the presence or absence of the adjunct'. The above sentences will therefore be classified as usages of the SVO type containing the chunk `make...from' and `make...out of.'

Finally, as regards the Active/Passive and Spoken/Written usages, there is no big difference in proportion between the SVO category and the Mini Corpus as a whole. This will further be discussed later.

In summary, the Monotransitive usage has been found to be most frequently used in the Mini Corpus. This pattern also gives the greatest number of chunks and delexical chunks. Moreover, a great number of the Delexical Chunks are with corresponding verbs. Some of these Delexical Chunks are followed by collocating Prepositions and a fair number of them are combinations with idiomatic meaning. It has also been noted that the usages of Postmodifiers after the Object-Noun in the form of Prepositional Phrases and the usages of Adjuncts after the Monotransitive pattern also in the form Prepositional Phrases are very frequent.

6.6 Ditransitive Usages (SVOO)

It has been found that Ditransitive usages constitute only 0.9% of the total number of usages. These include usages with the preposition `for´ and those without. It has also been found that the proportion of spoken language in this type of usage is relatively higher than that in the Mini Corpus. More detail will be given in due course. Among the total 19 usages, two chunks have been found. They are `make sb an offer´ and `make sb a name´. The former is delexical and the latter is

non-delexical. As the usages of this category are few, not much information can be elicited from them and we will go straight on to the next category.

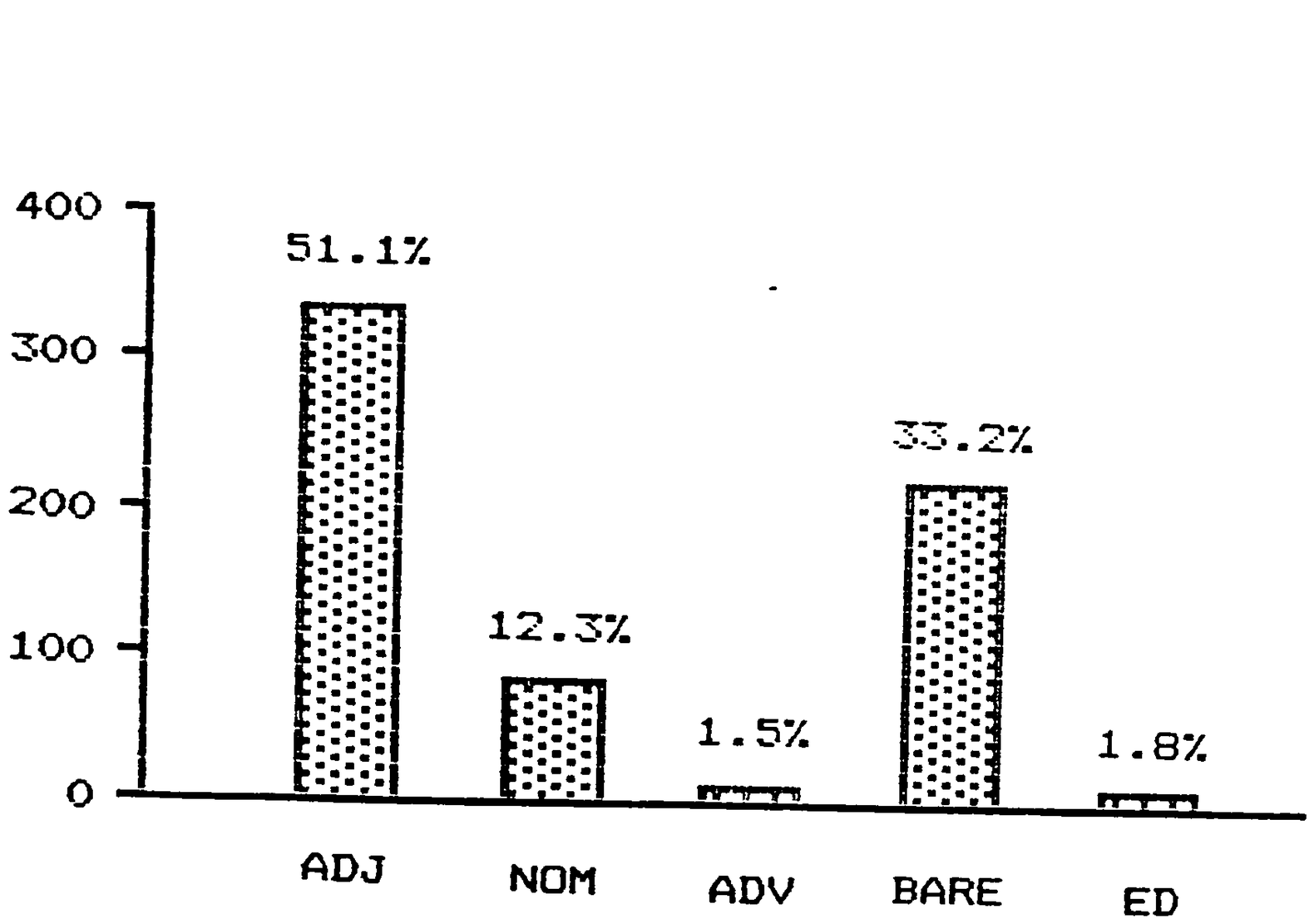
6.7 Complex Transitive Usages (SVOC/A)

As illustrated in Table 6.2 the Complex Transitive Usage of MAKE is the second most frequently used in the Mini Corpus and, as has already been mentioned in the outline of the analysis, the frequency of the various types of Complex Transitive usages is very unevenly distributed in the Mini Corpus as shown in the table and figure below:

Table 6.7 Frequency of the Various Types of Complex Transitive Usages in the Mini Corpus.

COMPLEX TRANSITIVE USAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1 SVO+Adjectival Object Complement	337	51.14
2 SVO+Nominal Object Complement	81	12.29
3 SVO+Adverbial Complementation	10	1.52
4 SVO+Bare Infinitive Clause	219	33.23
5 SVO+Ed Clause	12	1.82
TOTAL	659	100.00

Fig 6.6 Frequency of the Various Types of Complex Transitive Usages in the Mini Corpus.



1 ADJ =SVO+Adjectival Object Complement

2 NOM =SVO+Nominal Object Complement

3 ADV =SVO+Adverbial Complementation

4 BARE=SVO+Bare Infinitive Clause

5 ED =SVO+Ed Clause

Table 6.7 and Fig 6.6 above indicate that while type (1) constitutes 51% of the total number of Complex Transitive usages, types (3) and (5) constitute only 1.5% and 1.8% respectively. The following will examine each category in greater detail.

6.7.1 Object+Adjectival Object Complement

It has been found in the Mini Corpus that a great number of Adjectival Complements do not only contain an adjectives but also their complementations. The Adjectival complementation may be in the form of prepositional phrases,

(1)and airspace airfields were... made available *to the Allies*

(2)Rose had been made aware *of her deficiency in sex*..

(3)which made local authorities responsible *for the*..

It should also be mentioned that it is very obvious from the data that some adjectives such as `available´ and `aware´ are always used with the Passive. As a matter of fact, the total 11 occurrences of `make available´ and 6 occurrences of `make aware´ in the Mini Corpus are all used with the Passive.

In some cases, the adjective is followed by to-finitive clauses e.g.

(4) and makes it reasonable *to suppose that*...

On the other hand, as quite a number of the Adjectival Object Complements are realized by `gradable adjectives´ (Quirk et al 1985:435), they are often found to be used with modifiers with the function of `Intensifiers´ (Quirk et al 1985:445). The Intensifiers may be in the form of Amplifiers which `scale upwards from an assumed norm´ such as `extremely´, `totally´, `very´, `so´ or they may be in the form of Downtoners which `usually scale downwards from an assumed norm´ such as `quite´, `rather´, `kind of´ etc. Besides, a great number of the Intensifiers premodify Comparatives e.g.`more´, `less´, `slightly less´, `as...as´. Here are some examples of the Adjectival Object Complements with the collocating modifying Adverbs in the Mini Corpus:

(5) *terribly* wet

(6) *almost* childlike

(7) *even more* severe

(8) *reluctantly* aware of

Finally, it should be pointed out that as far as the usages in chunk form are concerned, among the total 337 occurrences, only 39 of them i.e. 12% are in chunk form. These 39 items include 37 occurrences of `make clear/sure´, which are Delexical chunks. Between the items `make clear´ and `make sure´, the former is more frequently used in the Mini Corpus. Moreover, the examples confirm the observation that there is no passive `be made sure´ (Quirk et al 1985:1198). As for the remaining two chunks of this category, they are `make her welcome´ and `make things worse´, the latter of which is an idiomatic expression.

6.7.2 Object+Nominal Object Complement

As shown in Table 6.7 only 81 i.e. 12% of the total number of Complex Transitive usages are of this type. In general, MAKE is used with the meaning of `to cause to become´ in most cases e.g.

(1) which made Easy Rider, in some ways, the most expensiv....

(2) The obeying of this commandment is what makes Summerhill a successful school

(3) and it made him a national figure

The examples above can also be used to demonstrate another phenomenon found in this type of usage, that is, the Nominal Object Complements are often premodifed by Adjectives denoting positive attitudes or values. Quite a number of these premodifiers are in the form of Comparative Adjectives e.g. `the highest paid star´, `better citizens´, `a more progressive nation´ etc. This calls to mind the same phenomenon which occurs in the SVCs usages where the Nominal Subject Complements have also been found to be premodified by Adjectives carrying positive connotations.

Indeed, in cases where premodifiers are absent, the Object Complements usually imply something unfavourable as in

(4)made his worker *a slave*

(5)it is the parents´ hate that makes a child *a problem*

Examples like these once again indicate that the usage of a certain grammatical structure by the speaker of the language is closely related to the meaning intended.

Apart from the frequent usages with the meaning of `to cause to become´, a fair number of examples in the Mini Corpus mark the use of MAKE with the meaning of `to appoint to the office of´ e.g. People were made `Foreign Secretary/Kommandant of the../Lord Chancellor/Minister in the Cabinet´ etc. And it should also be pointed out that these usages are very frequently found in association with the passive.

There are also some cases where MAKE is used with the meaning of `to regard as' e.g.

(6)made it a crime to..

But such usages are few when compared with the others.

6.7.3 Object+Bare Infinitive Clauses

As shown in Table 6.7, this type of usage accounts for 33% of the Complex Transitive usages in the Mini Corpus and is the second most frequent type of Complex Transitive clause.

According to the linguistic analysis of MAKE in the last chapter, MAKE, when used in this pattern, may have two kinds of meaning i.e. `to cause' and `to force'. The analysis has revealed that the majority of the 219 instances refer to the meaning `to cause' rather than `to force'.

Moreover, it has been found that a large number of the Subjects of the verb in this type of usage are inanimate e.g. `the smoke', `the sound', `the wind', `the expressions', `the paste', `the system' etc. In addition, a lot of the Objects are in the form of pronouns such as `it', `her', `him', `me', `them' etc.

Furthermore, the analysis has also shown that of half of the examples under study the non-finite verbs in the bare-infinitive clauses are static verbs showing an intellectual state or state

of emotion, perception or bodily sensation e.g. `speculate´, `feel´, `seem´, `scream´ etc. The non-finite verbs of the other half of the examples are dynamic verbs which include verbs of momentary or transitional events e.g. `cough´, `arrive´ etc.

What follows the non-finite verbs is directly related to how they are used as full verbs. Take the non-finite verb `feel´ for example, which is very frequently used in the Mini Corpus,

make sb feel uneasy
older than his..
almost less aware of
better
a rush of pity for
slightly mad
that..
sick

The various kinds of complementation types are to be expected because as a full verb `feel´ is invariably followed by all these kinds of complementation as well.

In contrast, a group of the non-finite verbs are found not to be followed by any Adjuncts at all e.g. `smile´, `groan´, `shiver´, `ache´, `stop´, `stumble´, `happen´, `live´ etc. This phenomenon is, again, expected as most of them are used Intransitively as full verbs as well. These usages constitute about 17% of the total number of this particular category of Complex Transitive usages.

6.7.4 Object+Adverbial Complementation

The total 10 occurrences of SVOA usages in the Mini Corpus are of the item `make one´s way + Adjunct´. Since the Verb and the Object in these combinations form a semantic unit [make one´s way=go], they are at the same time regarded as chunks in the study. Some examples:

(1)..how she made her way to the station for herself

(2)..Then she made her way down the attic stairs to the

(3)..making her way cautiously through the underbrush

(4)..she made her way home

In fact, these 10 usages together with the 39 chunks of the SVO+Adjectival Object Complement type discussed earlier account for all the chunks of the Complex Transitive category.

6.7.5 Object+Ed Clauses

This is the last Complex Transitive pattern to be discussed. It is also the least frequently used in the Mini Corpus. Recall that when used in this pattern, the verb MAKE has largely a causative meaning and the past participles frequently used in this pattern are `known´, `acquainted´ `felt´ `heard´, `understood´ etc. Findings of the Mini Corpus show that 9 out of the total 12 occurrences are of the item `make.....known´ whereas the item `make.....felt´ has been used twice as well e.g.

(1)It was made known in many different ways

(2)effects of proposition 2 1/2 were made known in Massachusetts

(3)and was at once made known through out a world waiting

(4)..technological and social change makes itself felt in the life of the individual

In the final analysis, two points can be made about this usage:

1 All of the 12 usages are found to be connected with written English which may imply that this usage is preferred in the informal style.

2 The proportion of Passive usages in relation to this type of Complex Transitive clause is higher than that of all the other types of the same category. In fact, this proportion is 7% higher than that in the Mini Corpus as well. These findings, however, disagree with the claim that there is no passive for most verbs in this pattern which include Causative verbs: `get´, `have´, Volitional verbs: `want´, `need´ and Perceptual verbs: `see´, `hear´ etc. (Quirk et al 1985:1207). The verb MAKE is a Causative verb but evidence in the Mini Corpus has shown that there are passive usages of this verb as shown in the examples above.

In summary, most of the Complex Transitive usages are in the form of Non-chunks except for the items such as `make clear´ and `make one´s way+Adjunct´. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out

that 97.95% of the usages in chunk form in this category are delexical chunks e.g. `make clear´, `make one´s way+adjunct´. Secondly, it has been found that in each subcategory of Complex Transitive clause, a certain kind of meaning is more often used rather than the others. Moreover, it has also been found that Complex Transitive clauses realized by Adjectival Complements often contain premodifiers in the form of Adverbs functioning as Intensifiers while Complex Transitive clauses realized by Nominal Object Complements often contain premodifiers in the form of Adjectives denoting positive values. Furthermore, in a great number of examples where the Complex Transitive clauses are realized by Bare-infinitive clauses, the Subjects tend to be inanimate and the non-finite verbs are of particular nature. In addition, the Complex Transitive clauses realized by the Ed-clauses seem to be associated with a more formal style as all of them are found in written language and most of them are used with the Passive. The delicate interplay between syntax and semantics is once again nicely demonstrated.

6.8 Verb+Particle Combinations (V+P)

As illustrated in Table 6.2 only 178 usages of MAKE in the Mini Corpus (i.e. 8.9%) are chunks in the form of Verb+Particles which include the Prepositional Verbs, the Phrasal Verbs as well as the Phrasal Prepositional Verbs as summarized in the following table:

Table 6.8 Frequency of Usages of the Verb+Particle combinations of MAKE in the Mini Corpus

V+P COMBINATION USAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Prepositional Verb	155	87
Phrasal Verb	20	11
Phrasal Prepositional Verb	3	2
TOTAL	178	100

The above table indicates that an overwhelming majority of the Verb+Particle combinations in the Mini Corpus are of the Prepositional types. The following will first of all discuss this category.

6.8.1 The Prepositional Verbs

Among the 155 usages of Prepositional Verbs, only 16 of them i.e. 10% are found to be Intransitive whereas 139 of them i.e. 90% are Transitive.

As far as the Intransitive usages are concerned, it is quite surprising to have the following observations:

1 All the 16 Intransitive usages in the Mini Corpus are of the item `make for´ e.g.

(1)holder, took up my briefcase, closed the door and make for

the bridge

(2)I made for my corner seat

2 All these usages are found in Written language. This seems to indicate that this item is associated with the formal style.

The following discussion will concentrate on the findings concerning the Transitive Prepositional verbs. In the linguistic analysis of MAKE, Prepositonal Verbs have been classified according to the cohesion between the verb and the preposition or among the verb, the object-noun and the preposition. Five types of Transitive Prepositional Verbs of MAKE have been suggested in the last chapter and they are repeated as follows:

1 Make...for

2 Pass

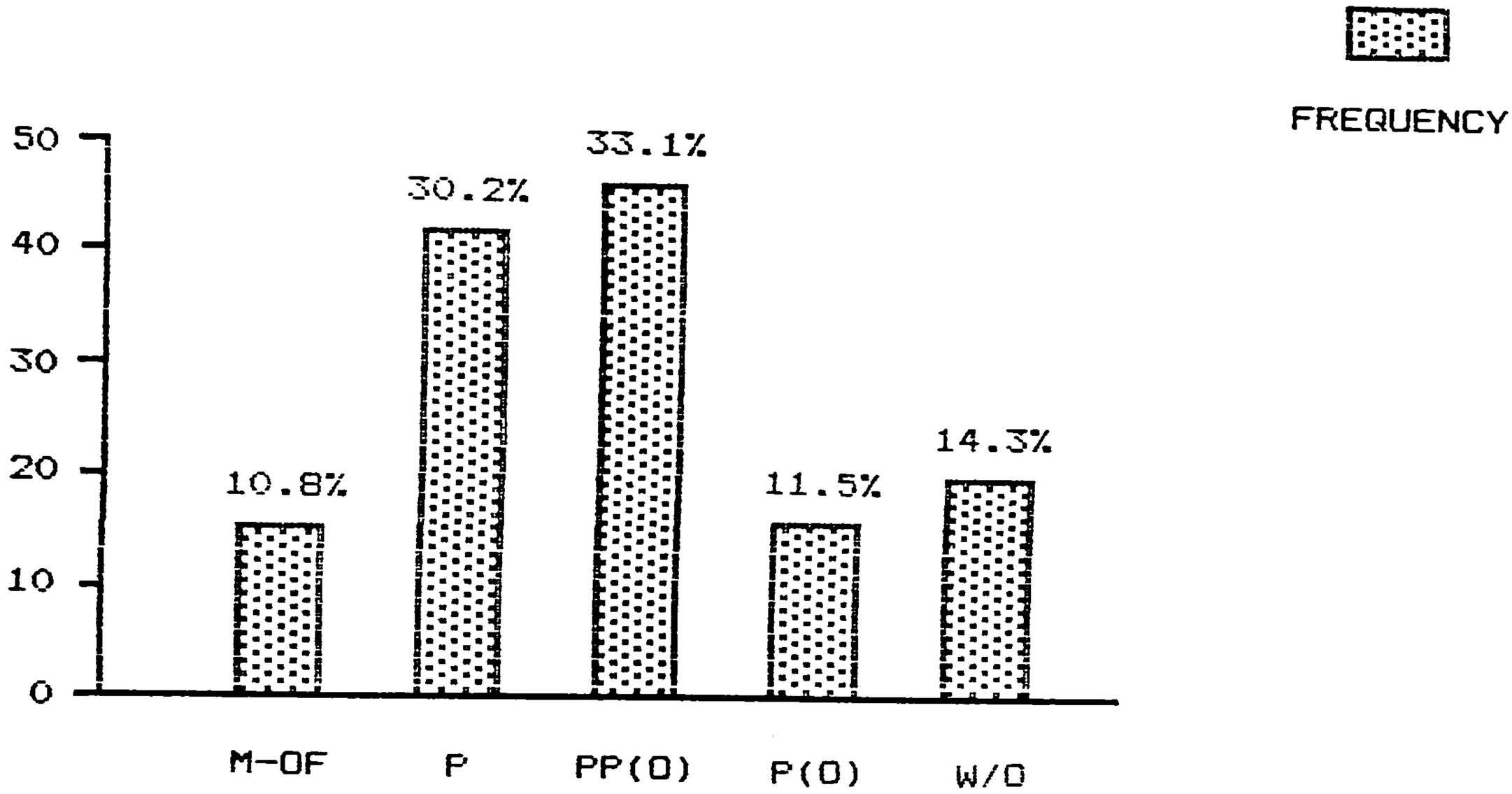
3 Pass Pass(o)

4 Pass(o)

5 W/o Pass

According to these five categories, the Transitive Prepositional usages of the verb in the Mini Corpus are represented in Fig 6.7 below:

Fig 6.7 Frequency of the Five Types of Transitive Prepositional Usages of MAKE in the Mini Corpus.



M-OF = Make....of

P = Pass

PP(O)= Pass Pass (O)

P(O) = Pass (O)

W/O = W/O Pass

It is apparent from Fig 6.7 that the most frequent type of Transitive Prepositional usage in the Mini Corpus is Type 3 in which both the Direct Object and the Prepositional Object can be passivized. However, if Type 1 and Type 2 are considered as the same category on the ground that only the Direct Object in both

of these categories can be passivized, Type 3 is the second most frequently used in the Mini Corpus. The following will consider the usages of the 5 categories individually.

6.8.1.1 Type 1: Make.....of

It has been pointed out in the linguistic analysis of MAKE that this usage is characteristic of the verb and the Mini Corpus confirms this fact. Some examples from the data:

(1)make invalids of us
(2)make cascades and waterfalls of retreating water

It is, however, quite surprising to note that though 93% of this type of usage is associated with the Active, the same percentage of usages is found in Written instead of Spoken language. The issues of Active/Passive usages and Spoken/Written language will be taken up further later.

6.8.1.2 Type 2: Pass

This is the type of Transitive Prepositional Verbs with the regular passive i.e. only the Direct Object can be passivised. Here are some examples from the Mini Corpus:

(1)make a major dent in the traffic
(2)make a beeline for the gate
(3)make mountains out of molehills

It may be interesting to note that the item `make a difference to' has occurred 8 times in the data and, in most cases, the Direct Objects are premodified e.g.

(4)make *any/little/all the/a sizable* difference to

The insertion of Adjectives in the combinations has confirmed the observation of Quirk et al (1985:1158) that though the Verb, the Preposition and the Object noun in these combinations form part of the idiom, the Object is still variable to some extent.

The most frequently used item, however, is `make...into', which has a total of 21 occurrences in the Mini Corpus. A detailed examination of the data has revealed two salient characteristics concerning this item in particular. Firstly, it is used very frequently in Spoken language. Secondly, and, unexpectedly, it is used very frequently with the Passive. As a matter of fact, the proportions of Spoken and Passive usages of this item are 43% and 67% respectively, which are correspondingly 26% and 49% higher than those in the Mini Corpus! Some examples from the Mini Corpus:

(5) Florrie's darkroom had been made into an office

(6) Why should love, once a mansion, be made into a cage through false expectations of

The preference for the Passive may be because people are more concerned about `what´ has been transformed or because they want to avoid mentioning the Subject of the verb which is responsible for the transformation.

On the whole, the proportion of Spoken language in this type of Prepositional Verbs is slightly higher than that in the Mini Corpus and, as expected, the proportion of Active usages is slightly higher as well. This seems to indicate that this usage is slightly more preferred in the informal style.

6.8.1.3 Type 3: Pass Pass (O)

This is the type of Prepositional Verb in which both the Direct Object and the Prepositional Object can be passivized. As illustrated in Fig 6.7, it is also the type of Prepositional Verbs most frequently used in the Mini Corpus. Listed hereunder are some examples of usages with the meaning `cause to exist in the mind´:

(1)make much of

(2)make sense of

(3)make a mental note of

Moreover, the most frequently used item in this category of Prepositional Verbs is `make use of´ which has 20 occurrences among a total of 46 occurrences (i.e. 43%) of this category. Again, the Object-Nouns are quite often found to be premodified. For instance, for the item `make use of´, the following is found:

greater

little

make *disciplined and effective* use of

far more

too much

the best

The proportion of Active usages of this type of Prepositional Verb is much higher than that in the Mini Corpus though the proportion of Spoken usages is only slightly higher. This, again, may imply a relatively informal style.

6.8.1.4 Type 4: Pass (O)

In this type of Prepositional Verbs, only the Prepositional Objects can be passivised. Given hereunder are some examples from the Mini Corpus:

(1)make a fool of

(2)make a game of

(3)make light of

As Quirk et al (1985:1160) note, the Direct Object is so firmly welded in its idiomatic position that it cannot be passivized nor can it easily be augmented by an adjective or a determiner. However, in some cases, Adjectives are found to have been inserted into the idiomatic combinations e.g.

(4)make *great* fun of

On the other hand, one salient characteristic concerning this category is the frequent usage of the Passive, which is 13% higher than the proportion in the Mini Corpus. This preference for the passive usage may be related to a concern for the `receiver´ of the action, usually a person who suffers from another person´s misbehaviour as shown in the examples above. It may be interesting to mention one instance of the item `make love to´ in the Mini Corpus which seems to imply a sense of helplessness in the `receiver´:

(5)..waiting to be made love to

Finally, it should be pointed out that among the total 16 examples of this type of Prepositional Verb, 15 of them have been found in Written language. The proportion of Passive usages is also higher than that in the Mini Corpus. The association of this type of usage with the formal style seems quite obvious.

6.8.1.5 Type 5: W/O Pass

The last type of Prepositional Verbs refers to the more or less fixed expressions neither the Direct Objects nor the Prepositonal Objects of which can be passivized. The meaning conveyed by such expressions in the Mini Corpus could be positive as in

make a meal of it

make her way in the film world

or negative as in

make a fool of himself
make a monkey out of
make a nuisance of themself
make a pass at

However, the analysis of the Mini Corpus seems to indicate that most of the occurrences are of the latter type. In fact, the item `make a fool of oneself´ has occurred 6 times in the data and `make a pass at´ 3 times.

The proportion of Spoken language in this category is marginally smaller than that in the Mini Corpus. As expected, the use of the Passive is virtually absent.

6.8.1.6 Meaning

Since the meaning of MAKE used in the SVO pattern has been classified into 5 categories, an attempt has also been made to find out the meaning most frequently used with the Transitive Prepositional usages. Results of the findings are summarized in Table 6.9 below:

Table 6.9 Frequency of the usages of various kinds of meaning of the Transitive Prepositional Verb category. (Percentages given in brackets in relation to the total no. of Tran Prep Verbs.)

USAGE	PROD	MIND	GAIN	DO	TOTAL
Make..of	15	0	0	0	15(11)
Pass	31	9	0	2	42(30)
Pass Pass(O)	11	8	0	27	46(33)
Pass(O)	9	2	0	5	16(12)
W/o Pass	14	0	1	5	20(14)
TOTAL	80(57)	19(14)	1(1)	39(28)	139(100)

As illustrated in Table 6.9 above the category of meaning `to construct´ is totally absent. On the other hand, the most frequently used meaning is ` prod´ i.e. `to produce´ (to cause to exist in a wider sense) e.g. `make a mess of´, `make a difference to´ and the second most frequently used meaning is `to do´ in a general sense. Like the Monotransitive category, it is the usages of these two kinds of meaning that account for most of the delexical usages of the verb in this category though in the Monotransitive category it is the meaning of `to do´ that is more frequently used between the two. Moreover, the meaning `to gain´ is not as frequently used as it has been in the SVO type.

The distribution of Delexical usages of the Prepositional Verb category (both Intransitive and Transitive) is shown in Table 6.10 below:

Table 6.10 Frequency of Delexical Chunks and Non-Delexical Chunks of the Prepositional Verb Category in the Mini Corpus (Percentages given in brackets in relation to the total number of the Prepositional Verb Category).

USAGE	DELEXICAL	NON-DELEXICAL	TOTAL
Int Prep Verb	0(0)	16(10)	16(10)
Make.. of	0(0)	15(10)	15(10)
Pass	13(8)	29(19)	42(27)
Pass Pass(O)	38(25)	8(5)	46(30)
Pass(O)	8(5)	8(5)	16(10)
W/o Pass	16(10)	4(3)	20(13)
TOTAL	75(48)	80(52)	155(100)

Int Prep Verb=Intransitive Prepositional Verb

The above table indicates that nearly half of the usages of the Prepositional Verb category are in the form of delexical chunks. Moreover, the proportion of Delexical usages is the highest with the type of Transitive Prepositional Verb where both the Direct Object and the Prepositional Object can be passivized e.g. `make a mess of´. In fact, these usages account for a fair proportion of the total number of delexical chunks in the Mini Corpus as a whole.

The above discussion centres on Prepositional Verbs and the following will look at the Phrasal Verb category.

6.8.2 Phrasal Verbs

As shown in Table 6.8, the Phrasal Verb category constitutes only 11% of the Verb+Particle combinations in the Mini Corpus. Among the total 20 instances found in the Mini Corpus, 2 of them are Intransitive usages and the remaining 18 Transitive as listed in table 6.11 below:

Table 6.11 Frequency of the usages of the Phrasal Verb Category

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
make up	14	70
make up one´s mind	4	20
make out	2	10
TOTAL	20	100

As said in the Outline of the analysis, it is unexpected to find only a few occurrences of Phrasal Verbs in the Mini Corpus. Secondly, the relatively frequent usages of the item `make up´ is quite reasonable as this item can be used in different contexts with multiple meanings, and `up´ is, of course, a very frequently used particle generally in English Phrasal Verbs.

A closer examination of the data has brought to light that the most frequently used meaning of `make up´ is `to constitute´ e.g.

1)also the main element of spending in the economy, making up as they do the greater part of national

(2)and another caste, often untouchable or tribal, makes up the bulk of the agricultural labourers

The only two instances of Intransitive usages mentioned above are also of the item `make up´ with the meaning of `preparing one´s face for a performance in a play´.

Besides, the item `make out´, which has been used twice, is used mainly with the meaning `to write, complete´.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that though 100% of the Phrasal Verbs in the Mini Corpus are used with the Active, only 5% of these usages are found in Spoken language. These confusing facts are further complicated by the findings that among the total number of 20 occurrences, 17 instances of them are used with the lemma form `making´, 1 instance with `made´ and 2 instances with `makes´. The point is, the ING gerundival clause is a formal device among the other kinds of linking devices to continue a related thought in communication.

6.8.3 Phrasal Prepositional Verbs

The total three instances of this category in the Mini Corpus are Intransitive usages including the item `make up to´, `make up for´ and `make up for lost time´ e.g.

1..and making up to fat cats for the wherewithal to finan

2..making up in a small way for what these courteous

3.. making up for lost time

These Phrasal Prepositional Verbs have different degrees of fixity. Passivization is possible in (1) and (2) but not in (3). The relatively weak cohesion in (2) is demonstrated by the insertion of a Prepositional Phrase `in a small way´ into the combination `make up for´.

The examples listed above at the same time show that all the usages are in the Active but, unexpectedly, like the Phrasal Verb category in the last section, all of them have been found in Written English in the Mini Corpus. Furthermore, as shown in the examples above, all of them are used with the lemma form `making´, a formal linking device described earlier.

In conclusion, the total number of Verb+Particle Combinations in the Mini Corpus is smaller than expected. Moreover, it has been found that Prepositional Verbs are much more frequently used than Phrasal Verbs in comparison, and, the usages of Phrasal Prepositional Verbs are rare. Regarding the Transitive Prepositional Verbs, it may be said that the findings agree with the claim that the type of Prepositional Verb which has a passive of the regular kind is most common when type 1 and type 2 are considered together (Quirk et al 1985:1158). However, the analysis of the Mini Corpus has also revealed the important role played by the type of Prepositional Verb in which both the

Direct Object and the Prepositional Object can be passivized, for example, the frequency of this usage and the distinguishing delexical use associated with it.

Secondly, although the V+P category has a proportion of Active usages higher than that in the Mini Corpus as a whole, it has a proportion of spoken language slightly lower than that in the Mini Corpus. In so far as Spoken language is associated with Informal style and in so far as the V+P category is presumed to be associated with Informal style (both assumptions are widely-held but debatable) this is an unexpected result. What is more confusing is that most of the examples show the use of the rather formal linking device i.e. the ING gerundival clause. These issues will be taken up further later.

6.9 Other Combinations

Items subsumed under this miscellaneous category constitute 0.5% of the Mini Corpus and are listed in table 6.12 below:

Table 6.12 Frequency of the Usages of `Other Combinations´:

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
make do	1	10
make do with	1	10
make good	4	40
make good sth	4	40
TOTAL	10	100

The table shows that quite unexpectedly only two items `make do´ and `make good´ have been used, with the latter used much more frequently than the former. Moreover, a close study of the data has further revealed that a certain kind of meaning may be more frequently used than the others in an item. For example, regarding the item `make good sth´ the frequency of the usages of meaning is shown as follows:

MEANING	FREQUENCY
carry out a promise	1
repair/compensate for	3

Hereunder are some examples from the Mini Corpus:

(1)efficiencies in personnel and equipment were being made good here

(2)stimulation provided by the child-minder would be made good by the mother or father

The proportion of Spoken language in this category is lower than that in the Mini Corpus. Moreover, the usage with the passive is more frequent as shown in the examples above.

6.10 Formal and Informal Style

The issue of Formal and Informal Styles has been mentioned several times in the above discussions and, in some cases, the Mini Corpus seems to have put forward rather confusing signals concerning the formal or informal usages of certain items or categories. This section therefore is intended to look at this issue in a more systematic way taking into consideration all the Active and Passive usages and Spoken and Written language in the Mini Corpus as a whole. The first part of this section will deal with the issue of Active/Passive usages and the second part will consider Spoken/Written language.

6.10.1 Active and Passive Usages

The proportion of Active and Passive usages in the Mini Corpus is 82% and 18% respectively. The following is a summary of the proportion of Active/Passive usages in each category in the Mini Corpus. Three points need to be emphasized about the table and the discussion below:

1 The classification in the table below is an extremely rough one.

2 In the discussion, comparison is made between the individual category and the Mini Corpus with regard to the **proportion** of Active to Passive usages.

3 Moreover, the proportion of Active to Passive usages in the Mini Corpus is regarded as the **average** in the discussion.

Table 6.13 Proportion of Active and Passive Usages in the various categories in the Mini Corpus (Percentages are given in brackets in relation to each category.)

MINI CORPUS (MC)	ACTIVE 1639(82)	PASSIVE 361(18)
All Usages Active		
1 Copular NP Sub Complement (SVCs)	28(100)	0(0)
2 Copular Adv Complementation (SVA)	3(100)	0(0)
3 Intran Prep Verb	16(100)	0(0)
4 Intran Phrasal Verb	2(100)	0(0)
5 Intran Phrasal Prep Verb	3(100)	0(0)
6 Tran Prep Verb: w/o Pass	20(100)	0(0)
7 Tran Phrasal Verb	18(100)	0(0)
8 Object+Adv Complementation (SVOA)	10(100)	0(0)
Active Usages A Lot More Than MC		
9 Object+Bare Infinitive Clause	217(99)	2(1)
10 Tran Prep Verb: Pass Pass (O)	44(96)	2(4)
11 Tran Prep Verb: Make .. of	14(93)	1(6)
Active Usages More Than MC		
12 Ditransitive (SVOO)	8(89)	1(11)
13 Object+Adj Obj Complement (SVOC)	283(84)	54(16)
Active Usages Less Than MC		
14 Object+NP Complement (SVOC)	66(81)	15(19)
15 Ditransitive (for) (SVOO)	8(80)	2(20)
16 Monotransitive (SVO)	844(77)	259(23)
17 Object+Ed Clause	9(75)	3(25)
Active Usages A Lot Less Than MC		
18 Other Combinations	7(70)	3(30)
19 Tran Prep Verb: Pass (O)	11(69)	5(31)
20 Tran Prep Verb: Pass	28(67)	14(33)

First of all, it is self-explanatory that no passive usages are found in the SVC/A patterns and the Intransitive V+P combinations as Objects are absent in these categories.

Secondly, the above table shows that the proportion of Active usages is greater than the proportion of Passive usages in the V+P categories i.e. (6),(7),(10) & (11) with the exception of (19) and (20). The relatively high proportion of Passive usages with (19) seems to indicate the association of this category with the formal style. On the other hand, the passive usages of (20) may possibly be due to the fact that this type of Transitive Prepositional Verb has the regular passive i.e. the Direct Object can be passivized and people feel more comfortable to use the passive form when necessary.

As far as the Complex Transitive usages are concerned, it has been shown that all SVOA usages (8) are Active usages. This is understandable as all the usages in the Mini Corpus are of the item `make one´s way+Adjunct´, which does not take the passive. On the other hand, the proportion of the Active usages of the Bare-Inf Clause (9) is a lot higher than that of the Mini Corpus. This may be explained by the fact that the focus is usually on the causer of the action (animate or inanimate). The proportion of Active to Passive usages in the Adjectival Object Complement clauses (13) is more or less the same as the Mini Corpus. The proportion of Passive usages with the Ed-clauses

(17) is, however, higher than that of the Mini Corpus. As mentioned earlier, this may possibly be an indication of the association of this usage with more formal style.

Regarding the SVOO Category, the proportion of Active usages with the SVOO type (12) is higher than average while the proportion of Active usages with the SVOO (for) (15) is lower than average.

The proportion of Active usages with the SVO pattern is lower than average. This is a little bit unexpected as the SVO pattern constitutes more than half of the usages in the Mini Corpus and the proportion of Active to Passive usages with this pattern should be very close to that of the Mini Corpus.

As regards the category `Other Combinations´, it is not surprising to find that the proportion of Active usages is lower than average since one of the items which has occurred relatively frequently i.e. `make good sth´ has been used mainly with the Passive.

On the whole, the Active usages in the Mini Corpus are much more frequent than the Passive usages. However, the proportion of Active and Passive usages differs greatly among the various categories in the Mini Corpus. As it will be more fruitful to consider the Active/Passive usages and Written/Spoken language of individual categories or items together, the following will look at the Written/Spoken language in the Mini Corpus as a whole and will refer to the related Active/Passive usages when necessary.

6.10.2 Spoken and Written Language

As pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, the proportion of spoken to written language in the 7.3 million word Corpus is 18% and 82%. In the Mini Corpus under study, the proportion of spoken to written language is 16.8% and 83.3% respectively. The differences between the two corpora are therefore too slight to be significant.

The usages of Spoken and Written language of the various categories in the Mini Corpus are summarized in the table below:

Table 6.14 Proportion of Spoken/Written language of the various categories in comparison with the proportion in the Mini Corpus. (Percentages are given in brackets in relation to each category.)

MINI CORPUS (MC)	SPOKEN 335(16.8)	WRITTEN 1665(83.3)
Spoken Usages Totally Absent		
1 Copular Adv Complementation (SVA)	0(0)	3(100)
2 Intran Prep Verb	0(0)	16(100)
3 Intran Phrasal Verb	0(0)	2(100)
4 Intran Phrasal Prep Verb	0(0)	3(100)
5 Object+Adv Complementation (SVOA)	0(0)	10(100)
6 Object+Ed Clause	0(0)	12(100)
Spoken Usages A Lot Less Than MC		
7 Tran Phrasal Verb	1(6)	17(94)
8 Tran Prep Verb: Pass (O)	1(6)	15(94)
9 Tran Prep Verb: Make .. of	1(7)	15(93)
10 Other Combinations	1(10)	9(90)
Spoken usages slightly Less Than MC		
11 Object+NP Obj Complement (SVOC)	9(11)	72(89)
12 Object+Bare Infinitive Clause	31(14)	188(86)
13 Object+Adj Obj Complement (SVOC)	50(15)	287(85)
14 Tran Prep Verb: w/o Pass	3(15)	17(85)
Spoken Usages More Than MC		
15 Tran Prep Verb Pass Pass (O)	8(17)	38(83)
16 Monotransitive (SVO)	207(19)	896(81)
17 Ditransitive (for) (SVOO)	2(20)	8(80)
18 Copular NP Sub Complement (SVCs)	6(21)	22(79)
Spoken Usages A Lot More Than MC		
19 Tran Prep Verb: Pass	12(29)	30(71)
20 Ditransitive (SVOO)	3(33)	6(67)

The following points can be summed up from the above table:

1. It is interesting to note that in the category of Copular verbs, none of the usages of the SVAs type (1) e.g `make like´ `make as if´ are found with Spoken language though usages of the SVCs type (18) are found in both Spoken and Written language.

2 Although the Monotransitive category has been found with a slightly higher proportion of Passive usages than that in the Mini Corpus, it has a slightly higher proportion of Spoken language (16).

3 The proportion of Spoken language in both types of Ditransitive usages (17&20) is higher than that in the Mini Corpus. However, the proportion in the type without `for´ (20) is much higher. This is consistent with the relatively higher proportion of Active usages of this pattern.

4 The proportion of Spoken language in the Complex Transitive complementation (11,12&13) is slightly lower than average while the types realized by Ed clauses (6) and Adverbial complementation (5) have been found to be used in Written English only. As mentioned in the last section, the Ed clauses (6) are also used quite frequently with the Passive. The findings in both sections to a certain extent confirm the association of this category with formal style. However, it´s difficult to explain why the item `make one´s way+Adjunct (5) has not been used at all in Spoken language in the Mini Corpus.

5 The following discussion will focus on the V+P category in particular.

a. Surprisingly, no Intransitive usages of the V+P category in the Mini Corpus are found in Spoken English, which include the Intransitive Prepositional Verbs, the Intransitive Phrasal Verbs and the Intransitive Phrasal Prepositional Verbs. Whether there is a relationship between Intransitivity and Written language needs further investigation.

b. Moreover, it is also quite unexpected that only 6% of the Transitive Phrasal Verbs (7) in the Mini Corpus are found in Spoken language and only 10% of the Category `Other Combinations´ (10) are found in Spoken English. As these findings may have important implications for teaching, it may be meaningful to have further studies on bigger samples of spoken English.

c. With regard to Transitive Prepositional usages, the proportion of Spoken language seems to be related to individual types of usages involved. For example, the type with the regular passive (19) (i.e. only the Direct Object can be passivized e.g. `make a beeline for´, `make any difference to´ etc) has the highest proportion of Spoken language. In fact, this proportion of Spoken language is not only higher than all the other types of Transitive Prepositional Verbs but also 12% higher than that in the Mini Corpus. This may be viewed as a strong evidence that this particular usage is closely related to Informal language. Concerning the type in which both the Direct Object and the

Prepositional Object can be passivized (15) e.g. `make a mental note of´, `make a hash of´, `make use of´ etc, the proportion of Spoken language is also marginally higher than that in the Mini Corpus. These findings may imply that the more flexible the structure of the idiomatic expressions, the more likely these idiomatic expressions are to be used in Spoken English.

On the contrary, the type of transitive Prepositional Usage in which the Verb, Object and Preposition have such a strong degree of cohesion that only the Prepositional Object can be passivized (8) e.g. `make a go of it´, `make a fool of´, `make fun of´ has a proportion of Spoken language much lower than that in the Mini Corpus. The fact that these combinations tend to be associated with a more formal style is supported by the findings in the last section that the proportion of Passive usages with this category has also been found 13% higher than that in the Mini Corpus.

In addition, the proportion of Spoken language in expressions which are more or less fixed (14) such as `make a fool of oneself´, `make a meal of it´ has also been found to be slightly lower than that in the Mini Corpus. These are the expressions generally assumed to be used quite naturally in speech as wholes.

However, as far as the `make..of´ type is concerned, it is quite confusing to find that though the proportion of Active usages has been found to be much higher than that in the Mini Corpus, the proportion of Spoken language is 10% lower.

6.10.3 Spoken Language and Delexical Usages

As one of the salient features of the Mini Corpus is the delexical use of the verb which has generally been claimed to be associated with colloquial English, the following will examine the formal and informal usages of this aspect of the language in particular.

It has been found that the proportion of Spoken language regarding usages in the form of Non-chunks, Chunks (delexical plus non-delexical) and Delexical Chunks (only) is as follows:

Mini Corpus	**16.75%**
Non-Chunks	15.84%
Chunks	17.16%
Delexical Chunks	18.34%

The proportion of Spoken language with the delexical usages is therefore 1.59% higher than that in the Mini Corpus. It may therefore be argued that there is a tendency to use Delexical Chunks more frequently in the Spoken language confirming the observation of many linguists such as Aisenstadt (1979:74), Quirk et al (1985:751), Sinclair et al (1990:147) etc. though their claims may be too strong. Moreover, a further examination of the data has revealed the folowing:

Table 6.15 Spoken/Written usages of Delexical Chunks in the Mini Corpus (Percentages given in brackets in relation to each category).

DELEXICAL USAGE	SPOKEN	WRITTEN	TOTAL
V+N(w/corresponding verb)	96(18)	443(82)	539(60)
V+N(w/o corresponding verb)	12(11)	95(87)	107(12)
V+N(w/idiomatic meaning)	49(23)	162(77)	211(24)
V+Adj	7(19)	30(81)	37(4)
TOTAL	164(18)	730(82)	894(100)

The table above indicates that there is not much difference in the proportion of Spoken to Written language among the various kinds of Delexical Chunks. Nevertheless, it may be said that the V+N combinations in which the Object Noun does not have a corresponding verb e.g. `make an effort´ are slightly more preferred in Written English while the V+N combinations in which the Verb and the Object together give idiomatic meaning e.g. `make a difference´ are slightly more preferred in Spoken English.

6.10.4 Written/Spoken Language and Formal/Informal Style

In the discussion above, some of the findings concerning the proportion of Spoken language with the usages of particular categories such as the V+P category seem to contradict the claim of some linguists that these categories are particularly

important in the Spoken language. For instance, Cowie & Mackin (1975:vi) state that idiomatic expressions are part of the common coin of everyday colloquial exchange and there is a tendency in the native speaker to prefer the Anglo-Saxon combination to its single Romance equivalent in casual or informal contexts. According to these writers, it is this tendency that makes these V+P combinations the most characteristically 'English' elements in the general vocabulary.

It should, however, be pointed out that it is dangerous to assume clear-cut lines between Written/Spoken language on the one hand and Formal/Informal language on the other hand. Indeed, as Stubbs (1987) points out, the Formality/Informality scale and the scale of Spoken/Written language easily get mixed up owing to historical changes in permissible language use. For example, there has been a tendency recently in quality newspapers such as The Guardian to use a slightly more relaxed style than in the immediately post-war period (Arthur Brookes 1991:personal communication). So, there may be considerable overlap between Spoken and Written language because of the particular piece of language happens to be under Formality and Informality scale. Such being the case, it is quite possible that many of the examples of V+P combinations, Delexical usages and other combinations which are found in Written language in the Mini Corpus may actually be Informal and their growing use in the media may well represent a general egalitarian trend.

6.11 Conclusion

The analysis of the Mini Corpus in this chapter may well be considered quite comprehensive, though far from being exhaustive. Before this chapter is brought to an end, it may be worthwhile pointing out in a more systematic way some salient features concerning the Mini Corpus and considering briefly whether the descriptive framework based on CGEL is helpful in capturing these features.

6.11.1 Usages in General

The primary aim of the analysis of the Mini Corpus is to find out in a more precise way the behaviour of the verb MAKE in actual language use based on the linguistic analysis in the last chapter.

Generally speaking, the findings of the Corpus analysis have confirmed that the verb MAKE has been used in all the grammatical patterns described in the linguistic analysis except for the Intransitive pattern which may possibly be found in a larger corpus. In brief, the verb MAKE has been used as a Copular Verb, a Monotransitive Verb, a Ditransitive Verb, a Complex Transitive Verb as well as in Combinations with Particles or other kinds of combinations. However, it is the Monotransitive and the Complex Transitive patterns that are most frequently used of all in the Mini Corpus, particularly the former.

Secondly, the findings of the Mini Corpus do support the observation in the linguistic analysis that the verb MAKE is often used in the habitual company of other words forming chunks of all sorts. In fact, the statistical analysis of the Mini corpus has revealed that out of the 2000 examples in the Mini corpus, 1142 of them witness the verb used in habitual company. That is to say, 57% of the total number of the usages of the verb MAKE in the Mini Corpus are in the form of chunks. Although most of the said chunks are of the Monotransitive category, it should be noted that the chunks of other categories have also been found in the Mini Corpus as well. For instance, there are a fair number of chunks of the V+P category, which is understandable as all members belonging to this category are virtually chunks.

6.11.2 Delexical Chunk Usages

A very significant finding of the Mini Corpus analysis is that the verb MAKE being a typical member of the delexical verb family, among the 1142 chunks found therein, 894 of them are identified as delexical chunks. That is to say, 78% of the chunks in the Mini Corpus are delexical chunks, which fall into a variety of categories i.e. SVO, SVOO, SVOC/A and V+P. However, it is in the Monotransitive usage, the type of Complex Transitive usage where the clause is realized by Adjectival Object Complement and the Transitive Prepositional usages that delexical chunks have been found to be most prominent. In these usages, the verb has lost its own meaning and most of the meaning is derived from the noun or the adjective following it e.g. `make

a call', `make clear'. The delexical use is especially outstanding in the Transitive Prepositional category. As has been mentioned, the results of the Mini Corpus analysis have shown quite unexpectedly that only 9% of the total usages are of the V+P category. Another interesting fact to note is that the Prepositional Verb category accounts for 87% of this V+P category and more than half of the Transitive Prepositional usages (about 53%) are delexical e.g. `make a mess of', `make a difference to' etc. It is therefore not surprising to find that a fair number of chunks are of this category.

Closely related to the high frequency of delexical chunks in the Mini Corpus is the unexpected finding that it is not the `core' meaning of the verb i.e. `construct' as used in `Mary *made* a cake', `John *made* a kite' that is most frequently used. The analysis of the Mini Corpus has revealed that native speakers of the language tend to use the verb most frequently with the general sense of `doing' e.g. `make a speech', `make an arrangement' etc. and with a wider sense of `producing' e.g. `make a fuss', `make a mess' etc. Both of these meanings are related to the delexical use of the verb. This kind of habitual usage explains why delexicality is such a distinguishing feature in the Mini corpus. In fact, delexicality having been a phenomenon noted by many linguists, the extent thereof, however, cannot be fully realized until a detailed analysis of the Mini Corpus has been carried out.

In addition, it has also been noted that, like the non-delexical chunks, a fair number of the delexical chunks are idiomatic expressions. As has already been discussed in detail in the last chapter, idiomaticity is a matter of degree. In the study of the Mini Corpus, it has been observed that the chunks of all categories may have various degrees of idiomaticity though the chunks of some categories are by their very nature more idiomatic than the others. As regards delexical chunks, `make a speech´ is less idiomatic in meaning than the chunk of the same category `make a difference.´

6.11.3 Association between Syntax and Semantics

It has been indicated in the linguistic analysis that the examination of both syntax and semantics of the verb MAKE simultaneously with syntax superordinate makes it possible to show more clearly the close association between the two elements. The analysis of the Mini Corpus based on the same principle has further highlighted this close association in actual language use. Briefly, particular meanings seem to have a tendency to be realized by particular grammatical forms and, similarly, particular grammatical forms are often associated with certain general types of meaning.

For example, it has already been mentioned in the linguistic analysis that when the verb MAKE is used in the SVCs pattern, the Nominal Subject Complement usually contains a modifier in the form of an Adjective carrying a favourable connotation e.g. `good reading´ and `a much better play´. The findings of the Mini

Corpus analysis not only confirm this observation but also reveal another very interesting fact i.e. in most cases, the Nominal Subject Complements tend to refer to `reading´ or `the theatre´. This may imply that when the native speakers of the language want to comment on `reading´ or the `theatre´ in a favourable way, they will use this pattern, consciously or subconsciously.

Interestingly, the same phenomenon has been found in examples when MAKE is used as a Complex Transitive Verb taking a Nominal Object Complement (SVOCo). In this case, the Nominal Object Complement usually contains a premodifier in the form of an Adjective which also denotes a positive attitude or value e.g. `made him the highest paid star´. On the contrary, as pointed out in the analysis, in cases where no premodifers are used, the meaning conveyed tends to be negative rather than positive e.g. `made his worker a slave´.

The meanings of the verb MAKE in the SVCs and the SVOCo patterns as demonstrated in the examples above are obviously very different. The only similarity between the two patterns is that both of them contain a `copular´ relation. In the former the copular relation is between the Subject and the Subject Complement and in the latter the copular relation is between the Object and the Object Complement. But what is most interesting is the habitual use of the premodifiers conveying favourable connotations in both patterns.

The association between form and meaning may also be demonstrated by the use of the Passive. It has been found that the Passive seems to be frequently used with particular items of a certain category. For instance, among the examples of the Transitive Prepositional Verb in which only the Prepositional Object can be passivized <Pass (O)> e.g. `make a fool of´, `make a game of´, `make light of´ etc. it has been noted that the idiomatic expressions usually refer to some misbehaviour and the proportion of the use of the passive in this category is 13% higher than that in the Mini Corpus. As explained in the analysis, the preference for the passive usage may imply a greater concern for the receiver of the action on the part of the speaker. Similarly, examples of the item `make into´ of the Transitive Prepositional category which take the regular passive <Pass> witness a proportion of Passive use 49% higher than that in the Mini Corpus. The explanation has been that the speakers of the language are more concerned about what has been transformed than who is responsible for the transforming. This habitual use of the Passive has also been found in items of other categories e.g. `be made from´ of the SVO pattern, `be made available/aware´ of the SVOC pattern, the combination `make good sth´ when it is used with the meaning of `repairing´ or `compensating for´ etc. In addition, it should also be remembered that the passive is also related to the formal/informal style as shown by the item `be made known´.

The numerous examples mentioned above, hopefully, have demonstrated quite convincingly that the delicate relationship between form and meaning is best captured by the simultaneous

examination of both the syntax and the semantics of the verb. Moreover, these usages have at the same time indicated that in a certain speech community, there is a more or less consensus or common agreement (conscious or subconscious) among its people as to the most suitable way of expressing a certain meaning (in a certain context).

6.11.3 Habitual Usages

Another interesting observation is that some usages are much more frequent than the others. In the discussion of the findings concerning the various categories of usages, it has been pointed out that some categories are more frequently used than the others and, moreover, a certain meaning in a category may be more frequently used than the others which may also be conveyed by the same category. For instance, in those examples of the Mini Corpus where Complex Transitive complementation is realized by Bare-Infinitive clauses, the meaning `to cause´ has been much more often used than `to force´.

However, it is the frequent usages of some items or chunks in a particular category that are most striking and interesting. Take the V+P category for example. There are 16 occurrences of the Intransitive Prepositional Verb usages, surprisingly, all of them are of the item `make for´ though other items such as `make after´ `make at´ might have been expected as well. Another example may be taken from the Transitive Phrasal Verb usages in the Mini Corpus. It is also surprising to see that only two items i.e. `make up´ and `make out´ have been used and the former

accounts for 90% of the total number of the usages of this category. As far as the usages of Transitive Prepositional Verbs are concerned, the relatively high frequency of the usages of items such as `make a difference to´, `make...into´ and particularly, `make use of´ is too outstanding to be ignored.

Regarding the category `Other Combinations´, the examples found in the Mini Corpus are largely restricted to the usages of two items `make good´ and `make good sth´. Other items of the same category which might have been expected such as `make merry´ `make or break´ etc are totally absent in the Mini Corpus not to mention combinations of the same category in the form of Sayings e.g. `make an omelette without breaking eggs´ or combinations in the form of Catchphrases e.g. `make the punishment fit the crime´.

The obvious preference for the usages of certain items has not only been found with what are generally described as `idioms´ as demonstrated above. In fact, `preferred items´ can be easily found in all sorts of categories. For example, in the Monotransitive Category the frequent usages of items such as `make a film´, `make a mistake´, `make a noise´, `make a change´, `make a fortune´, `make love´, `make a point´ are also very distinguishing. On the other hand, the frequent usages of chunks of the Complex Transitive category e.g. `make clear´ and `make sure´ are quite obvious as well.

There may be many reasons for the frequent occurrences of certain chunks in a speech community. It is, however, reasonable to assume that these chunks are closely related to the cultural life of the speaker of the language. This is a fascinating area but is not within the scope of the present study.

6.11.4 Grammar and Use

This final section will discuss very succinctly the grammar of MAKE based on CGEL and the use of the verb as demonstrated in the Mini Corpus.

To begin with, it should be reiterated that the descriptive framework provided by CGEL is a very comprehensive one and, as a matter of fact, all the basic complementation types of the verb MAKE found in the Mini Corpus are described by the grammar. Moreover, it is unfair to be critical about any discrepancies between how the verb is described in the grammar and how it is actually used in the Mini Corpus because CGEL is not specifically concerned with a single English Verb but the grammar of the English language as a whole. However, since CGEL is based on Corpora different from the Mini Corpus, and since the present study claims no more than what has been found in the Mini Corpus, which is entirely about the verb MAKE, it may be worth mentioning some differences observed during the analysis.

First of all, it has to be said that it is very exciting to see how a language is actually used by its speakers instead of learning about it in grammar. For example, it is amazing to see

the delicate interplay between syntax and semantics in actual language use, which has already been discussed in detail earlier and is not to be repeated here. Another example is the outstanding frequency of the usages of some categories and the habitual usages of some items of a certain category, which have also been looked at in detail. The point is, it is these behaviours of the verb in real language use that give one a `feel´ or a more realistic picture of the language which the grammar is unable to provide.

For instance, one of the salient features in the Mini Corpus is the delexical use of the verb MAKE. CGEL discusses the phenomenon of `delexicality´ in terms of `Eventive Objects´ but the significance of this feature in language use has not been mentioned at all. Moreover, though CGEL points out that some Verb+Object combinations may give rise to idiomatic meanings, the numerous usages of these combinations in the language have not been given the attention they deserve. Similarly, while CGEL has noted the numerous usages of the type of Transitive Prepositional Verbs with the regular passive i.e. the Direct Object can be passivized [Pass], the significant role of the type of Transitive Prepositional Verbs in which both the Direct Object and the Prepositional Object can be passivized [Pass Pass(o)] has been regretably overlooked.

Moreover, the way a language behaves is never neat and tidy. For instance, the verb MAKE may be systematically described in the grammar as a verb taking a certain list of complementation types which are made up of certain components. However, it has

been revealed in the Mini Corpus that the complementation of the verb usually contains many more elements than the basic ones. For instance, there are always collocations of various kinds and the basic elements themselves may also take complementation. In this respect, the grammatical framework seems to be an oversimplication of the actual language use. This issue will be taken further later in Chapter 9.

Finally, it should be pointed out that what is generally assumed about language may be different from how language is actually used. For instance, in the discussion of the V+P category, CGEL repeatedly claims that chunks of this category are associated with Informal language use. However, as the findings of the Mini Corpus have revealed, no usages of the Intransitive Prepositional Verb, Intransitive Phrasal Verb and Phrasal Prepositional Verb categories have ever been used in Spoken language at all. Moreover, only 6% of the usages of the Phrasal Verb category have been found in Spoken language. As far as the usages of the Transitive Prepositional Verb category are concerned, the usages in Spoken language are, on the whole, below average except for one or two sub-categories. It may therefore be said that whether chunks of the V+P category are associated with Informal usages or Spoken language is less certain than it has been claimed when modern English usage is taken into consideration as shown by the Mini Corpus.

In conclusion, it may be said that findings of the present study not only throw light on the behaviour of a typical delexical verb i.e. MAKE but also embrace significant

implications for the teaching of the language in general and the teaching of vocabulary in particular. However, the discussion of these and other pedagogical implications of the study will be postponed to allow for an investigation of what is actually going on at the moment. The investigation will consist of two parts. The first is a study of 60 Hong Kong and 60 British essays with a view to finding out if there are any differences between the two groups concerning the usages of words and the company they keep i.e. chunks. The second is a study of a test given to a group of Hong Kong learners to find out if they avoid using chunks and the difficulties involved. The first study is described in chapter 7 and the second reported in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 7

A STUDY OF THE BRITISH & HONG KONG ESSAYS

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned at the end of the Mini Corpus analysis, the discussion of pedagogic implications would be delayed for an investigation into the difficulties of the Hong Kong learners in using these delexical verbs. The investigation consists of two studies. The first study is based on data collected from 60 essays by a group of British learners and 60 essays by a group of Hong Kong learners. The second study is a complementary study on a test participated in by a group of Hong Hong learners in particular. This chapter will concentrate on the first study and the following chapter will discuss the second one.

7.2 The Study

From her knowledge of Hong Kong students having taught them for many years and as a result of many informal conversations with other Hong Kong teachers, the researcher has become aware of the difficulties of the uses of the Delexical Verbs. She wants to explore both statistically and in other ways what a particular corpus could tell her about it and how far it represents her general intuition about it.

Accordingly, a comparison has been made between the written discourse of 60 British learners and that of 60 Hong Kong learners. The hypothesis of the study is that the British learners would prove to use the delexical verbs under study more variously, more correctly, more frequently, more in chunk form and more delexically.

In addition to the verb `make´, two other Delexical Verbs have been added to provide a bigger sample for the study. They are the verbs `give´ and `take´, both of which have been examined briefly at the end of Chapter 5.

However, the researcher is well aware of the limitation of this kind of `small experiment´. For example, the sample may still not be big enough for any strong claims to be made and the data may be slightly slanted owing to the subject matter of the essays which may lead to the use of a particualr word or the slant may be caused by fortuitous usages as a result of translation from Cantonese which coincides with good English usage. All these will be discussed in detail in due course. The following is a description of the source of the data.

7.3 The Source of the Data

The data include all the usages of the three verbs in 60 essays by a group of Hong Kong learners and 60 essays by a group of British learners.

7.3.1 The Hong Kong Essays

The 60 Hong Kong essays have been provided by the Hong Kong Examinations Authority and they were written by candidates who were almost entirely Cantonese speakers sitting for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination 1989 in the same examination centre. The allocation of candidates in each examination centre in Hong Kong is made in such a way that candidates in each centre include learners of mixed ability. The sample collected can therefore be considered representative of the English language standard of the Hong Kong learners who have just completed their secondary schooling.

7.3.2 The British Essays

The 60 British essays have been collected from a British Comprehensive school in Durham after an Essay Competition especially set up for this purpose in 1990. Three sets of learners from the Fourth year of the school, a total of 61, were invited to take part in the competition. Learners of the Fourth year have been chosen instead of the Fifth year because though the learners of the Fourth year might be one year younger than their Hong Kong counterparts by age, their competence in the English language has been assumed to be at least the same as, and possibly better than, that of the Hong Kong learners for the simple reason that the English language is their mother tongue. This assumption has been found to be absolutely correct when the overall performance of the British and Hong Kong learners has been examined. Moreover, these three sets have been chosen on

the ground that the learners in these sets were considered to be of average standard in the British context (information provided by the head of department of the same school). The participants in the Competition have not been allowed to use any dictionaries or ask any questions and they have been given the same time to write on the same topic as their Hong Kong counterparts. In addition, in this study 60 out of the 61 essays have been used as one of them has been written by a non-native speaker whose essay has been put aside for an additional brief analysis which will be reported in due course.

7.3.3 The Essay Topic

In order to create the closest possible conditions for a fair and reliable comparison to be made between the two groups, as mentioned in the above section, the British group has been asked to write on the same topic attempted by the Hong Kong learners in the Public Examination. As a matter of fact, it is one of the four options in the 1989 Composition paper and this topic has been chosen for the study because it is not particularly culturally specific: the report of a crime. (It happened that 60 out of a total of 200 candidates in the same examination centre chose to write on this topic.) Moreover, the question provides a series of cartoons which, it is hoped, would increase the motivation for writing. The controlled writing, however, has been found to have limitations which will be reported in due course in the following discussion.

7.4 Some General Remarks on the Essay Writing

Generally speaking, with regard to writing, the British learners do better as far as content, fluency and correctness are concerned. There is no obvious difference between the British and the Hong Kong learners in respect of the organization of the essays. The most obvious mistakes among the British learners are in the area of punctuation but on the whole they get their message across quite successfully. In contrast, some of the essays of the Hong Kong learners which contain `chunks´ of incomprehensible language are sometimes not quite readable. It may also be interesting to point out that the writing of the British learners has been much influenced by TV programmes such as `Crime Stopper´ and as a result their way of reporting the crime is more realistic than the Hong Kong learners some of whom report the crime in the same way they tell an ordinary story. TV programmes similar to the `Crime Stopper´ are shown in Hong Kong too and the way the Hong Kong police describe crimes is more or less the same but Hong Kong learners do not have the same advantage as the British learners who just have to put down what they hear in writing in the same language. The following discussion will concentrate on how the British and Hong Kong learners use the Delexical Verbs MAKE, GIVE and TAKE in their essays. (A copy of one of the Hong Kong essays and a copy of one of the British essays are attached in the Appendix.)

7.5 An Outline of the Findings

Before going on to discuss the findings concerning the individual verbs, this section will give a general outline of the findings.

7.5.1 Total Usages of the Three Verbs

It is slightly disappointing that the size of the relevant data taken from the essays on which the study is based has turned out to be smaller than expected though two other verbs `give´ and `take´ have been investigated in addition to MAKE. Altogether 220 usages of the three verbs are found in the British and Hong Kong groups combined as summarized by the following table:

Table 7.1 Frequencies of the usages of MAKE, GIVE and TAKE in a total of 220 usages in the 60 British and 60 Hong Kong essays. (Frequencies relative to the total sample size are given in brackets as percentages to the nearest whole number.)

SUBJECT	MAKE	GIVE	TAKE	TOTAL
British	21 (10)	4 (2)	67 (30)	92 (42)
Hong Kong	9 (4)	4 (2)	115 (52)	128 (58)
TOTAL	30 (14)	8 (4)	182 (83)	220 (100)

The table above seems to indicate that the Hong Kong learners use the verbs more frequently than the British learners, a difference of 16%.

Secondly, it is obvious that the verb TAKE has been used much more frequently than the other two verbs i.e. 82% of the total number of usages. Moreover, out of the 82% of usages, 52% are found in the Hong Kong essays.

On the other hand, the above table also shows that while the frequency of the usages of GIVE is the same in the two groups, the verb MAKE has been used more often in the British group. This tends to show that the usages of the three verbs are relatively more evenly distributed in the British group than the Hong Kong group.

The unexpectedly high frequency of the usages of the verb `take´ does indicate a problem and this will be discussed in greater detail below.

7.5.2 The Cartoons and the Verb `Take´

In fact, the high frequency of the usages of TAKE in the total sample may reflect a problem which was not predicted at the initial stage of the study when the topic of the essays was selected for the purpose i.e. the effect of the series of cartoons provided in the essay question. The following is a copy of the essay question.

ESSAY COMPETITION (1991)

Write a composition of about 300 words on the following topic:
(You are reminded of the importance of clear handwriting and the need for planning and proof-reading.)

This morning you saw two men who you think might have committed a crime. You did NOT see the crime. This is what you saw:

Immediately afterwards you went to a police station and you are now writing a factual report of what you saw to help the police. Write the report, beginning like this:

On Friday, 12th May at about 8.15 a.m., I was walking.....

[Sign your report "R. Brown". Do NOT use your own name]

he essay question above shows that there is a conversation in the first cartoon with the chunk `take off' as follows:

`I'll be glad to ***take*** this stocking **off** my face.'

It has been found that this quotation has been used in quite a lot of the essays, particulary in the Hong Kong group. In fact, in the analysis, when these exact words are quoted, they have been disregarded for statistical purposes.

Another possible cause of the high frequency in the usages of TAKE might have come from the second cartoon, in which the characters in the story are shown hiding their clothes after ***taking*** them ***off***. It is reasonable to assume that the provision of `take off' in the conversation in the first cartoon has increased the chances of the learners using the same Phrasal Verb for the same meaning in describing what happens in the second cartoon. If the frequent occurrences of the verb in the essays are not caused for the reasons given above, they can only be explained by the fact that the learners prefer certain usages. Or, it may be a combination of all the reasons.

Anyway, the original intention to provide the closest possible conditions for language use in both groups has brought about unexpected effects which may have affected not only the calculation of the total number of occurrences of TAKE but also the usages of the chunks of the verb as `take off' happens to be a chunk of the verb.

It should therefore be pointed out that though more usages of the three verbs are found in the Hong Kong group, it does not necessarily mean that the learners in this group have the ability to use the three verbs more freely than the British group especially when the unexpected effect of the cartoon is greater on the Hong Kong group than the British group. Moreover, though more usages of the 3 verbs have been found in the Hong Kong group and it is reasonable to expect more usages in chunk form to be found in the same group, this, however, is not the case. In the contrary, it is in the British group that more usages in chunk form and in the form of delexical chunks are found.

7.5.3 Total Usages in Chunk Form

The table below summarizes the usages in chunk form of the three verbs in the two groups.

Table 7.2 Frequencies of the usages of MAKE, GIVE and TAKE in a total of 220 usages in the 60 British and 60 Hong Kong essays. (Frequencies relative to the total sample size are given in brackets as percentages to the nearest whole number.)

SUBJECT	NON-CH	NON-DEL CH	DEL CH	TOTAL
British	20(9)	57(26)	15(7)	92(42)
Hong Kong	67(30)	59(27)	2(1)	128(58)
TOTAL	87(39)	116(53)	17(8)	220(100)

The above table displays the following information:

1. In a total of 220 usages of the three verbs, the proportion of Chunks (Delexical plus Non-delexical) to Non-chunks is 61% to 39% respectively. That is to say, more than half of the usages in the two groups combined are in chunk form.

2. When the total 220 usages are taken into consideration, the Hong Kong group uses the 3 verbs more often, more in Non-chunk form, slightly more in Non-Delexical chunk form, and very much less in Delexical chunk form.

3. However, if the same figures are looked at with reference to the total number of usages in each group, a comparison of the proportion of the various usages will give the following information about the Hong Kong group:

Non-Chunks	28% higher
Non-Delexical Chunks	16% lower
Delexical Chunks	14% lower

In view of the percentages listed above, the usages in chunk form (Non-delexical plus Delexical) are obviously fewer in the Hong Kong group.

7.5.4. Summary

The examples collected from the 120 essays in the two groups combined are fewer than expected. Moreover, the cartoons in the essay question may have caused the high frequency of the usages of a certain verb in the essays. This is particularly obvious in the Hong Kong group. Moreover, although more usages are found in this group, yet more chunks (delexical and non-delexical) are found in the British group. An examination of the usages of the three verbs individually will give a clearer picture that it is the British learners who use the three verbs more variously and more in chunk form. The few sections below will examine the usages of the three verbs separately with regard to the following:

1 The frequency of the various types of usages

2 The frequency of Chunks (delexical plus non-delexical)

3 The frequency of Delexical Chunks in particular

7.6 The Verb `Make´

The usages of MAKE in the two groups are tabulated as follows:

Table 7.3 Frequencies of the various types of usages of MAKE in the two groups (percentages are given in brackets).

USAGE	FREQUENCY		CHUNK		DEL CHUNK	
	BR	HK	BR	HK	BR	HK
SVO	5(17)	6*4(20)	5(38)	0(0)	5(71)	0(0)
SVO+Adj	3(10)	1 (3)	2(15)	0(0)	1(14)	0(0)
SVO+Adv	1(3)	0 (0)	1(8)	0(0)	1(14)	0(0)
SVO+B-Inf	7(23)	2*1(7)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Prep Verb	1(3)	0 (0)	1(8)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Phr Verb	4(13)	0 (0)	4(31)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
TOTAL	21(70)	9*5(30)	13(100)	0(0)	7(100)	0(0)

The asterisk [*] shows the ungrammatical usages so that 6*4, for instance, means that there are 6 occurrences in total, 4 out of which are ungrammatical.

In the above table, the first column displays the various types of usages of the verb MAKE, the second column the frequencies of these usages, the third column the frequencies of chunks and the fourth column the frequencies of delexical chunks. Columns 2, 3 and 4 are subdivided into the British and the Hong Kong groups. Percentages in the first column are related to the total number of usages of the verb MAKE, percentages in the second column related to the total number of usages in chunk form, and percentages in the third column related to the total number of usages in the form of delexical chunks.

For example, the first row shows that as far as the British group is concerned, the total number of usages of the SVO type is 5, which is 17% of the total number of the usages of the verb MAKE in the two groups combined. Secondly, all these 5 usages are in chunk form and they constitute 38% of the total number of chunks of the verb MAKE in the two groups combined. Thirdly, these 5 chunks are delexical and they constitute 71% of delexical chunks of the verb MAKE in the two groups combined. The same kind of tabulation will be used for the verbs GIVE and TAKE later.

A comparison of the two groups reveals the following:

1. A total of 30 usages of MAKE are found in the two groups combined, 70% of which are in the British group and 30% in the Hong Kong group. The frequency of usages of this verb is thus 40% higher with the British group.

2 The usages of the Complex Transitive clause in the form of Adverbial Complementation (SVOA) e.g. 'make one's way+Adjunct' and the usages of the Prepositional Verb e.g. 'make for' and the Phrasal Verb e.g. 'make out' which are found in the British group are totally absent in the Hong Kong group. This shows that the British group has used the verb more variously.

3 Moreover, among the 9 usages of MAKE found in the Hong Kong group, 5 of them are grammatically incorrect. Moreover, it is particularly interesting to note that among the 6 usages of the SVO type found in the Hong Kong group, 4 of them are used with the passive (examples from the Hong Kong essays):

(1) Both of them were wearing blue jeans and a pair of white shows which were making by cloth

(2) The car number is EZ1313 what is made by Japan

The above sentences are grammatically wrong. But what is interesting is the high frequency of the passive usage of the SVO type which has not been found in either the British group or the Mini Corpus where the proportion of the passive usages of the SVO type is only 23%. Moreover, it is generally assumed that the Passive is difficult for second language learners and they try to avoid it. This is not the case with the Hong Kong learners. This may be understood as an unconscious preference which reflects the commercial nature of the Hong Kong society where goods all over the world are sold including those `made in Hong Kong´.

4 It is obvious from the table that among the 30 usages of the verb MAKE, 13 of them (i.e. 43%) are chunks, which include 7 Delexical Chunks, all of which are found in the British group and none of them are found in the Hong Kong group. Some examples of Delexical and Non-delexical Chunks found in the British group are: `make oneself scarce´, `make getaway´, `make a report´, `make out´ etc.

It is therefore obvious that as far as the verb MAKE is concerned, the British group is able to use it more grammatically, more variously, much more frequently, much more in chunk form and much more delexically.

Since the Mini Corpus is on the verb MAKE, it may be interesting to look at some of the differences between the findings of the Mini Corpus and the 120 Br/Hk essays.

Firstly, many categories are not found in the Br/Hk essays e.g. SVC, SVOO etc. This is understandable as the size of the data in this study is small when compared with the Mini Corpus. Secondly, while the SVO type usages of MAKE is most frequently used in the Mini Corpus, this is not the case with the Br/Hk essays where the most frequent usage is of the Complex Transitive type. Thirdly, as far as Complex Transitive Usages are concerned, the type realized by the Adjectival Object Complement clause (SVOC) is most frequently found in the Mini Corpus while the most frequently used type of Complex Transitive clause in the Br/Hk essays is the one realized by the Bare-infinitive clause. It is reasonable to assume that the various types of usage may to a certain extent be determined by the subject matter of the writing.

An attempt has also been made to compare the usages of Chunks between the Mini Corpus and the British essays in particular. The findings (in percentages) are as follows:

	Non-Ch	Non-Del Ch	Del Ch
Mini Corpus	43	12	45
British Learners	24	62	16

What is obvious from the above is that adults (users of the Mini Corpus) tend to use more delexical chunks than the learners. This may imply that as a child grows older, he will be able to use the verb more delexically and accordingly speak more fluently.

7.7 The Verb `Give´

The usages of GIVE in the two groups are summarized in the following table:

Table 7.4 Frequencies of the various types of usages of GIVE in the two groups (percentages are given in brackets).

USAGE	FREQUENCY		CHUNK		DEL CHUNK	
	BR	HK	BR	HK	BR	HK
V+O	3(38)	2*1(25)	3(60)	1(20)	3(60)	*1(20)
V+O+O(to)	1(13)	2*1(25)	0(0)	1(20)	0(0)	*1(20)
TOTAL	4(50)	4*2(50)	3(60)	2(40)	3(60)	*2(40)

The asterisk [*] shows the ungrammatical usage so that 2*1, for instance, means that there are 2 occurrences in total, 1 of which is ungrammatical.

As mentioned earlier, the usages of GIVE are much fewer when compared with MAKE or TAKE. The limitation is obvious as one occurrence of an item may constitute 20% of the total usages when the total number of occurrences of that item is five. Nevertheless, a comparison of the two groups reveals the following:

1. A total of 8 usages are found in the two groups combined, 50% of which are in the British group and the other 50% in the Hong Kong group. That is to say, the two groups have the same number of usages.

2. Only two types of usages of the verb are found in the two groups i.e. Transitive and Ditransitive.

3. Among the total 8 usages, 5 of them are in chunk form, 3 of which are found in the British group and 2 in the Hong Kong group.

4. All of these 5 chunks are Delexical chunks.

5 No Prepositional verbs and Phrasal verbs are found in either the British or the Hong Kong group.

At first glance, chunks are found in both groups though the Br group uses relatively more chunks. In this respect, the usage of the verb `give´ is different from the verb `make´. A closer look at the data, however, has brought to light something very interesting.

Firstly, while the chunks of GIVE are found in different essays in the British group, all the chunks of GIVE in the Hong Kong group are found in the same essay. Secondly, all these usages in chunk form in the Hong Kong essay are ungrammatical as shown in

(1) In that time he wanted me to give some information for him
(2) In the police station, the policeman gave one of a factual report

Sentence (1) describes what happened between the policeman and the learner before they arrived at the police station and sentence (2) describes what happened between them inside the police station. Sentences (1) and (2) were meant to deliver the meaning in (3) and (4) respectively:

(3) he was asked to give some information (concerning the two suspects) to the police
(4) he was asked to give a factual report of the whole incident

Although the sentences (1) and (2) are ungrammatical, they are delexical usages: `give information to somebody´[=inform somebody] and `give a report´ [=report]. So, the examples seem to show that at least this particular Hong Kong learner has the ability to use the verb GIVE delexically. However, the occurrences of these two delexical usages may be explained as a result of the coincidence of Cantonese translation and good

English usage. The fact is that both the Transitive and the Ditransitive usages of the verb GIVE as used here have Cantonese equivalents e.g. `give information him ( )´ `give (a) report´( ). In the former Cantonese expression, no preposition is needed and this also explains the ungrammatical usage of `for´ instead of `to´ in (1) above. Such being the case, though delexical usages are considered statistically, this may not reflect the actual ability of that Hong Kong learner to use them in his writing. Moreover, examples can also be found in the essay of the same learner where he actually avoids using delexical chunks when they could have been used:

(5) [When I finished a report], the policeman to check
[When I finished making the report],

In conclusion, as far as the verb GIVE is concerned, it may be said that the British group has been found to be able to use relatively more chunks and use them more delexically. The occurrences of chunks in the Hong Kong group, all of which appear to be delexical chunks, have been scrutinized and the judgement is that the delexical usages may possibly be fortuitous.

7.8 The Verb `Take´

The usages of TAKE in the two groups are summarized in the following table:

Table 7.5 Frequencies of the various types of usages of TAKE in the two groups (percentages are given in brackets).

USAGE	FREQUENCY		CHUNK		DEL-CHUNK	
	BR	HK	BR	HK	BR	HK
V+O	7(4)	45*36(25)	2(2)	0(0)	2(40)	0(0)
V+O+A	6(3)	11* 8(6)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Prep Vb	3(2)	0 (0)	3(3)	0(0)	3(60)	0(0)
Phr Vb	51(28)	59 (32)	51(44)	59(51)	0(0)	0(0)
TOTAL	67(37)	115*44(63)	56(49)	59(51)	5(100)	0(0)

The asterisk [*] shows the ungrammatical usage so that 45*36, for instance, means that there are 45 occurrences in total, 36 of which are ungrammatical.

As mentioned earlier, the verb TAKE is used much more often than the other two verbs for the possible reasons already discussed.

The table shows that only two Clause types i.e. SVO and SVOA are found in the data. However, unlike the verb GIVE, both Prepositional Verbs and Phrasal Verbs are also found.

At the first glance, a lot more usages have been found in the Hk group than in the Br group, with respective percentages of 63% and 37%. The usages of chunks are also slightly more in the Hk group.

A close examination of the data, however, has revealed that 44 out of the 115 usages in the Hk groups are ungrammatical. Most of the problems are connected with the SVO type and the SVOA type. One of the most obvious mistakes is that the verb `take´ is used erroneously for the verb `carry´ or `hold´, e.g.

(1) Both of them took a big bag on their hands

(2) He took a bag which had `OKO´ word in the middle of the bag

The cause of the error may possibly be Cantonese translation. Though the verb `take´ in both Cantonese and English may convey the meaning of `grip´, in English usage, the action of `taking´ is related to the action of `giving´. More importantly, the action of `taking´ is usually followed by other actions, e.g.

(3) She took a spade and planted the potatoes.

`Take´ in the above sentence implies an action of short duration and the idea of moving something [the spade] from one place to another place.

Another obvious error in the Hong Kong essays is that `take´ is used in error for `put´ e.g.

(4) He take his clothes on the basket

What the learner meant is `He put his clothes in the litter bin (in order to hide it).'

Errors like these show that in many cases verbs other than TAKE should have been used. Given that the wrong usages have to a great extent slanted the data, the high frequency of usages found in the Hong Kong group therefore does not necessarily mean that this group actually uses the verb more frequently.

The table above also shows that there are slightly more usages of Phrasal Verbs in the Hk group than the Br group. A careful study of the data has shown that 53 out of a total of 59 of the usages i.e. 90% in the Hk group is of the item `take off', the same chunk which occurs in the conversation in one of the cartoons in the essay question. The British group also uses the same item quite a lot but not as frequently as the Hk group. This seems to confirm the general assumption concerning the dependency on props among the foreign/second language learners.

On the other hand, among the 115 chunks in the two groups combined, 5 of them i.e. 4% are delexical chunks and all of them are found in the British group. These include delexical chunks of the SVO type e.g. `take a right turn', `take notice' and delexical chunks of the Transitive Prepositional usages e.g. `take care of', `take no notice of' etc.

It can therefore be said that though the total number of usages as well as chunks appear to be greater in the Hong Kong group, this may be a result of wrong usages and the dependency on props. On the other hand, the Delexical usages and the various Phrasal Verbs of TAKE e.g. `take down´, `take out´ etc found in the British group indicate that this group is able to use the verb more variously and much more delexically.

7.9 Conclusion

Taking the usages of three verbs into consideration, the following points may be made:

1 The British learners have been found to use the three verbs more grammatically than the Hong Kong learners.

2 A greater variety of usages have been found in the British essays. For instance, the SVOA pattern of MAKE, the Phrasal Verbs of MAKE, and the Prepositional Verbs of MAKE and TAKE which have been found in the British essays are totally absent in the Hong Kong essays.

3 The British learners have been found to use more Chunks and more Delexical Chunks and indeed, when Chunks and Delexical chunks are found in the Hong Kong group, the usages may be fortuitous as in the case of the Delexical chunk `give information to sb´, which has a word-for-word Cantonese

equivalent or they may to a certain extent be a result of the language provided in the essay question as in the case of the Non-delexical chunk `take off´.

The following table is a summary of the frequencies of Chunks and Delexical chunks in the two groups:

Table 7.6 Frequencies of Chunks of the verbs MAKE, GIVE and TAKE in a total of 120 British and Hong Kong essays (frequencies relative to column totals are given in brackets as percentages).

USAGE	DEL & NON-DEL CH		DEL CH	
	BR	HK	BR	HK
MAKE	13(10)	0(0)	7(41)	0(0)
GIVE	3(2)	2(2)	3(18)	2(12)
TAKE	56(42)	59(44)	5(29)	0(0)
TOTAL	72(54)	61(46)	15(88)	2(12)

The table above shows that when both Delexical and Non-delexical chunks combined are taken into consideration, the frequency of usages is 8% higher in the British group.

However, when only Delexical chunks are taken into consideration, the frequency of the usages is 76% higher in the British group.

That is to say, while there are 1.2 chunks in each British essay, there is only 1 chunk in each Hong Kong essay. On the other hand, while there is 0.25 delexical chunk in each British essay, there is only 0.03 delexical chunk in each Hong Kong essay. In fact, the T-test has been used to find out if these differences in the two groups are statistically significant.

The T-test has been used because it is one of the most frequently used statistical procedures in Applied Linguistics to compare two groups. Furthermore, it is particularly useful when the sample is small. Most importantly, our study meets most of the following assumptions underlying T-tests (Hatch & Farhady 1982:114, 119):

1 the subject is assigned to one (and only one) group in the experiment
2 the scores on the independent variable should be measured on an interval scale
3. cross-comparisons should not be made
4. the variances of the scores in the populations are equal, and the scores are normally distributed. (This point should not be a big concern as t-test is a fairly robust test)

The results of the T-test with regard to the usages of chunks (delexical and non-delexical) and delexical chunks (only) in the two groups are summarized in the following table:

Table 7.7 T-test scores for the British and Hong Kong groups

USAGE	MEAN		STDEV		T	DF	P
	BR	HK	BR	HK			
CHUNK	1.200	1.017	1.190	0.854	0.970	107.0	0.3300
DEL CH	0.250	0.033	0.508	0.258	2.940	87.5	0.0042

*Significant at the 0.05 level

Stdev=Standard Deviation

T =The t-observed value

Df =Degrees of Freedom

P =Probability

The number of participants in both groups are the same in the t-test i.e. 60. In order for the differences between the two groups to be significant, the P i.e. probability level needs to be lower than 0.05 The results of the t-test above show that as far as the usages of chunks are concerned, the probability level (0.33) is higher than 0.05 and therefore the difference between the two groups is statistically insignificant. On the other hand, as far as the delexical chunks are concerned, the probability level (0.0042) is much lower than 0.05 and therefore the difference between the two groups is statistically significant.

Regarding the usages of chunks in the two groups, though the difference between the two groups would not be considered great enough to allow us to cite the evidence as support for the claim, the mean score of the British group is higher than the Hong Kong group and the standard deviation is also higher. These differences are important as they allow us to safely claim that there is a trend in the British group to use more chunks. More importantly, it is reasonable to assume that in a larger sample, the difference may very possibly be significant enough for a stronger claim to be made.

As for the usages of delexical chunks, there is strong evidence that the British group tends to use chunks more delexically. This may be further supported by the fact that the delexical usages of other verbs such as `have´, `get´, and `catch´ have also been found in the British group. Expressions such as `have a look´ `have a cigarette´, `get a view of´, `catch a glimpse of´ etc. amount to more than 20 occurrences in the British essays. On the contrary, there are examples in the Hong Kong group marking the learners´ inability to use delexical chunks where they may have been used. Some examples:

(1)make some help for

[give some help to]

(2)call the telephone, calle to the police station

[make a call to the police station]

(3)I attended the two men (attend=watch or listen)

[I paid attention to the two men)

The expressions in brackets are good English usages which could have been used.

In conclusion, it may be said that owing to unexpected factors such as fortuitous usages and usages resulting from the props provided in the essay question, the data may have been slightly slanted in view of statistics. However, it can be safely claimed that a detailed analysis of the usages of the three verbs above supports the hypothesis that there is a **tendency** in the British group to use the verbs more grammatically, more freely, more in chunk form and much more delexically though no **proof** can be claimed owing to the small size of the sample.

On the other hand, while it is easy to find out how often a group of learners use a verb, whether they use it grammatically or whether the usages are in chunk form or in the form of non-delexical chunks, the researcher is well aware of the difficulty in telling whether the learners avoid certain usages or the difficulties which are involved. As a result, a supplementary study on a group of Hong Kong learners in particular has been carried out and this supplementary study will be reported in the next chapter.

7.10 Other Findings

Before going on to the next chapter, it may be worthwhile looking at some other findings which the researcher came across in the study and which are also relevant hereto. These findings are related to the use of the Chunks of the three verbs in the British group in particular and the use of Chunks in the essay of the only one Non-native speaker in the British group but whose work has been put aside for a separate analysis.

7.10.1 The British Groups

As said earlier, the participants in the British group are learners from three of the 7 sets of the Fourth year in a British Comprehensive school i.e. Sets 3, 4 and 5 in descending order of fluency in the English language. These three middle sets are chosen because together they form a group representative of learners of average standard in the British context. What has been found about these three sets of British learners is that the more fluent as they tend to be in the upper group the more likely they are to use a high proportion of the three verbs so that the upper ability group use them most, the next ability group use them on the whole second most and the lowest ability group use them least.

As it is not our intention to make a detailed analysis of the three groups, it may be appropriate to make just a comparison between the upper group i.e. set 3 (henceforth Group A) and the two lower groups i.e. sets 4 and 5 combined (henceforth Group B)

as sets 3 and 4&5 combined happen to have the same number of learners i.e. 30 in Group A and 30 in Group B. The following table is a summary of the usages of chunks in the two British groups:

Table 7.8 Frequencies of the usages of the three verbs in two British groups (frequencies relative to column totals are given in brackets as percentages).

GROUP	USAGE	CHUNK	DEL CH
A	54 (59)	44 (61)	11 (71)
B	38 (42)	28 (39)	4 (29)
TOTAL	92 (100)	72 (100)	15 (100)

The table shows that in Group A, there are a total of 54 usages among which 44 of them are in Chunk form and among these 44 Chunks, 11 of them are Delexical Chunks. It is therefore very obvious that Group A uses the three verbs more frequently, more in chunk form and more delexically. As there are 30 participants in each group, the difference in the Means of chunks and delexical chunks in both groups is as follows:

GROUP	CHUNK	DEL CH
A	1.46	0.36
B	0.93	0.13

In comparison, there is 0.53 Chunk more and 0.23 Delexical Chunk more in each essay in group A. These findings show that British learners who are more competent in the language use more chunks and use them more delexically. This implies once again that delexicality is associated with fluency.

7.10.2 A Study of a Non-Native Speaker

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are altogether 61 essays from the British group and one of them is written by a non-native speaker and this essay has been put aside for a separate study. It is hoped that a very brief examination of the use of Chunks in her work will shed some light on the difficulty a non-native speaker may encounter in using the Chunks of the L2 language.

Grace Chan is a Cantonese speaker from Hong Kong. She has stayed in Britain for about 3 1/4 years. Her performance in the English language is of average standard in the British context. That is to say, her English standard might be better than many of the Hong Kong learners of the same age. Generally speaking, Grace shows the ability to use sophisticated sentence patterns as well as the ability to use accurately some chunks such as `knock somebody over´, `sort things out´ `in time for´ and `be suspicious about´ to express herself in her essay. Nevertheless, some of the errors she has made do reflect the difficulty in using chunks of the English language by a speaker of Cantonese.

For example, the difficulty may be caused by a blend of two Chunks, e.g.

(1)* ...towards the east direction

(towards the east)+(in an easterly direction)

The confusion in usage may be due to the fact that Grace has not learnt the two expressions properly and more revision may be needed.

For another example, the difficulty may be caused by the lack of knowledge of the acceptable company a word keeps e.g.

(2)*..they both got on a BMW car.

It is reasonable to assume that Grace has learnt the chunks `get on´ and `get off´ meaning `board´ and `leave´. A very possible cause of the error is one of over-generalization: If `get on´ can be used together with `a bus´, why not `a car´? Of course we can say that a bus is bigger and takes passengers who have to pay to travel but a non-native speaker is likely to get trapped in cases like this. Grace has learnt to treat `get´ and `on´ correctly as a chunk but has not completely learnt the company kept by this chunk, thus choosing the wrong company `car´.

A final example shows how Grace has interruped a chunk without any awareness of it,

(3)* I could not exactly hear a word they said.

`can´t hear a word´ is a stock phrase in the English language. What actually happens is that Grace has interrupted the chunk by the insertion of an adverb very unexpectedly. It was a mistake that she was not at all aware of and in fact the mistake had to be explained to her.

So, the brief study above has given some idea about the difficulty the non-native learners have in using Chunks of the second language. These difficulties may be due to mother-tongue interference, the lack of sufficient practice after chunks have been learnt or even a total ignorance of the fact that certain combinations of words are chunks and cannot be interrupted. The question is: If Grace is considered to be of average standard in the British context and her performance in the English language may therefore be much better than many of the learners of the same age in Hong Kong, the difficulty in the usages of chunks among the Hong Kong learners as a whole can be imagined.

The purpose of the Complementatary study in the next chapter is to confirm the findings of this chapter.

CHAPTER 8

A COMPLEMENTARY STUDY

8.1 Introduction

The study of the British/Hong Kong essays in the last chapter has confirmed the hypothesis that there is an indication that the British learners are able to use the three verbs more freely, more in chunk form and more delexically. This implies that the Hong Kong learners may have greater difficulty in using these verbs, including usages both in the form of Delexical Chunks and Non-delexical Chunks. The study in this chapter is a study complementary to the last one and this study is based on a test given in particular to a group of Hong Kong learners. It is complementary in the sense that the test is not a primary test but a test which has been constructed as a result of the analysis of the British/Hong Kong essays in the last chapter.

8.1.1 The Study

The aim of the test is to confirm and to have a better understanding of the difficulty the Hong Kong learners may have in using chunks of the three verbs under study i.e. MAKE, GIVE and TAKE. The study is intended to find out:

1 whether Hong Kong learners avoid or prefer usages in chunk form of the three verbs;
2 some of the possible causes of the difficulties; and

3 whether some chunks are more difficult than the others for the Hong Kong learners.

The researcher is well aware of the small size of the sample which may not provide enough evidence to support the findings of the Test but it is believed that a combination of the findings of the previous study with this one will probably throw some light on the difficulty of the Hong Kong learners in the usages of these delexical verbs and the implications for teaching.

8.1.2 The Test Participants

In the choice of the participants for the Test, an attempt has been made to ensure that the English standard of these participants is equivalent to or more or less the same as that of the Hong Kong learners whose essays have been examined and analysed in the last study.

The 39 participants of the Test are a class of Form 5 students chosen from a Secondary school in Hong Kong for both boys and girls where the teaching medium is supposed to be English (like the overwhelming majority of schools in Hong Kong). More importantly, it is a Government aided Secondary school where basically `Band 3' students are allocated by the Education Department. These students are known to be of average standard because pupils at the top classes of Primary schools are classified into any one of the 5 Bands in view of their overall academic performance on completion of their primary course. The said overall academic performance will be assessed by comparison

with the counterparts of other primary schools. As these 39 students are in the second best class among the other Form 5 classes in the same school, it can be safely claimed that their English standard is representative of the average Form 5 students in Hong Kong, a fact confirmed by the Head Teacher of the school. Such being the case, the English standard of these participants is similar to that of the Hong Kong learners in the last study. As a matter of fact, both groups have just finished their Secondary schooling and the only difference is that these 39 participants attempted the Test shortly **before** the Public Examination whereas the 60 Hong Kong learners wrote the essays **in** the Public examination. It has to be admitted that there may be a marginal difference between a `test environment´ and `an examination environment´, but it is reasonable to assume that the 39 participants have taken the Test seriously as all tests before the Public Examination are meant to be important in the Hong Kong schools in general.

So, although the sample on which this study is based is small, it is a sample that is very closely related to the sample of learners who wrote the 60 Hong Kong essays in respect of age, English proficiency and the conditions under which the sample was collected.

8.1.3 The Test Paper

Before actually analysing the Test, the design of the Test will be discussed in some detail. The following is a copy of the test paper together with the answer sheet.

Test (1991)

Read the following questions carefully and write all the answers on the answer sheet provided. Time allowed: 1/2 hr.

A. Select from the words or phrases provided to complete the following story. The story is presented in two parts.

Part 1

At the beginning John [1] the two men in the First Alley. However, he began to be suspicious when he saw that they [2] the clothes they were wearing and changed into some other clothes hidden in the litter-bin nearby. He had not the slightest doubt that they were up to no good when he saw one of the men hurriedly drop a gun down the man-hole. They seemed to have a very short conversation but John hardly [3] what they said as they spoke in a very low voice. Before John could decide what to do next, the two men jumped into to a car which must have been waiting in the dark and speedily they [4].

Choose four words or phrases you are most likely to use from the following list:

escaped, took off, heard, removed, did not notice, made their getaway, made out, took no notice of.

Part 2

Luckily, John [5] the number of the car before it disappeared. He then ran to the nearest police station and [6] the whole incident to the police and he also [7] the appearance of the two men in great detail. Moreover, he told the police that he was quite sure that the suspects' car [8] the New Territories. John's action [9] great bravery far beyond the expectation of his parents and all his friends.

Choose five words or phrases you are most likely to use from the following list:

gave evidence of, made a report of, took down, recorded, made for, described, moved towards, reported, gave a description of, evidenced.

B. Fill in each blank with the correct form of one of the following words you find most appropriate: `do', `give', `make' and `take'. The same word may be used more than once.

10 Francis agreed to _____ a few minor changes.

11 Mary was so happy to learn of the success of his examination that she ____ him a big hug.

12 Grace was very excited about the snow. She couldn't help _____a photograph of the snowman she had made.

13 She should be _____ credit for her invention.

14 You are always _____ a lot of fuss over nothing!

15 His mother never _____ any interest in what he did.

16 You'll have to _____ do with the left-over cold meat from yesterday.

17 A: You are fond of work, aren't you?

B: Yes, I _____ after you.

18 Oh, I _____ up! I'm tired of trying to guess the right answer.

C Translate the expressions in brackets into English:

19. 你年輕時[給你父母許多麻煩]嗎?

Did you [ ] when you were young?

20. 他過去十年[製作]多少个电視節目]?

How many [ ] in the past ten years?

21. 她去年大學畢業,[取得了學位]。

She [ ] last year.

22. 她[迅速地周圍看一下]。

He [ ] around.

23. 他在會上[發表演說]及頒發獎品。

He [ ] and distributed the prizes at the meeting.

24. 她[向他暗示]，希望他離開。

She [ ] that she would like him to leave.

D. Translate the expressions in brackets into Chinese or Cantonese:

25 [Can you give me a lift] back to Wanchai?

26 I've retired and [I'm going to take things easy] for a while.

27 The absence of electricity [makes matters worse].

28 My grandad's been polishing his china in the closet for two hours. [He always makes a meal of it].

29 The new assistant walks round the building as if he owns the place, telling people how to do their jobs. [He needs taking down a peg or two].

30 [That man gives me the creeps]. It's the horrible way he looks at people.

-End-

Answer Sheet

Class Number: Date:

Section A

1 _____ 2 _____

3 _____ 4 _____

5 _____ 6 _____

7 _____ 8 _____

9 _____

Section B

10 _____ 11 _____ 12 _____

13 _____ 14 _____ 15 _____

16 _____ 17 _____ 18 _____

Section C

19 Did you [_____]when you were young?

20 How many [_____] in the past ten years?

21 She [_____]last year.

22 He [_____]around.

23 He [_____] and distributed the prizes at the meeting.

24 She [_____] that she would like him to leave.

Section D

25 [_____]

26 [_____]

27 [_____]

28 [_____]

29 [_____]

30 [_____]

--End-

First of all, a few words should be said about the number of questions in the Test. The number of questions in the Test has been limited to 30 because it is well known to the researcher that students of that stage of their school life are bombarded with tests on various school subjects before the Public

Examination. To make sure that they can concentrate within the given time of 30 minutes and try their best in the Test, the number of questions has been limited to 30 and any number greater than that may possibly result in a lot of gaps on the answer sheets. Moreover, as the Test is a study complementary to the last one, all the 30 questions are on the same three delexical verbs i.e. MAKE, GIVE and TAKE. More importantly, as mentioned earlier, the questions are set with reference to the results in the last study. In the Test Paper, the 30 questions are distributed in 4 Sections and the objective of each Section will be spelt out in detail below.

8.1.3.1 Section A

This Section consists of 9 questions. The aim is to find out whether the Hong Kong learners prefer or avoid using Chunks which include both Delexical Chunks and Non-delexical Chunks.

The learners are required to complete a story by filling in the missing expressions which are provided in the form of binary choices after each of the two parts of the story e.g. `took no notice of´/`did not notice´. These binary answers are, of course, arranged in random order.

The story has been divided into two parts as it is well known in testing circle that when too many distractors are given at once, it is very confusing for the students.

It is hoped that the answers chosen will reflect whether the Hong Kong learners are comfortable with and familiar with sufficient Chunks of these Delexical verbs to make a regular choice of these expressions in the light of the fact that they are more appropriate to the style of the story.

The testing items in this Section include V+O Delexical chunks, Transitive and Intransitive Prepositional Verbs and Phrasal Verbs. One distinguishing characteristic of this Section is that nearly all of the testing items have been found in the British essays but not in the Hong Kong essays in the last study.

8.1.3.2 Section B

This section also contains 9 questions. The aim is to find out the Hong Kong learners' ability to use the Chunks of the three verbs. The items include V+O combinations e.g `make a change', Transitive and Intransitive Prepositional Verbs e.g. `take an interest in' and `take after', Phrasal Verbs e.g. `give up' and Other Combinations e.g. `make do with' etc.

Instead of choosing from binary choices, the learners are required to fill in the blank of each sentence with one of the 4 choices given i.e. `make', `give', `take' and `do'. In this respect the questions are similar to Multiple Choice questions. However, they are different from other Multiple Choice questions in that the same choices are provided in all the questions in the Section. This is inevitable as `make' `give' and `take' are the

verbs under study and another Delexical verb 'do' is chosen as an additional distractor because it is the most neutral among all the delexical verbs in the English language.

However, it can be said that the options provided have satisfied the following two essential criteria for the construction of multiple choice test items in general (Heaton 1975, Woldesenbet 1989):

(1) The wrong answers are distinctly different from the correct answers
(2) The wrong answers are plausible to some one who does not know the answers

As a matter of fact, only one of the answers provided in each question can be accepted as the correct answer and, since all of the four verbs are verbs that can also be used delexically, this similar property among them makes them qualify as 'plausible answers' to learners who don't know the usage of the item or have incorrect knowledge of the usage.

Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the status of the four verbs as distractors differs from question to question and this is partly reflected in the answers. That is to say, some distractors are more useful than the others. For example, there is one question (and the only one) in which one of the distractors has not been chosen at all. It is question 11 on the item 'give somebody a hug' and the 'useless' distractor is 'do'. However, the reasons why a certain choice is made may be more

complicated than they appear to be. For example, the distractor `do´ is obviously not too useful in question 16 on the item `make do with´ and it is not surprising if it has not been chosen at all. However, the results show that 3 of the participants have chosen `**do** do with´ though none of them have chosen `do somebody a hug´ which should have been a relatively more likely distractor.

All in all, it may be said that no huge differences in the use of the four verbs have been found in the Test though `do´ is the verb chosen least frequently. The frequency of the actual use of the four verbs is summarized as follows:

Table 8.1 Frequency of the usages of the four verbs as answers (percentage in relation to the total number of 351 answers in Section B in particular):

ITEM	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
GIVE	82	23
MAKE	72	21
TAKE	68	19
DO	56	16
MISSING ANS	73	21
TOTAL	315	100

At the same time, it is interesting to find that the distractor `do´ has been most frequently chosen as the `answers´ for two of the lowest scored items i.e. `give credit for´ and `take after´ in this section. This may indicate that the verb `do´ is also a useful distractor or this may imply that when the learners do not know a certain item or lack the confidence in deciding on the right answers, they tend to go for a more `neutral´ verb, unconsciously, of course.

8.1.3.3 Section C

This Section contains 6 questions. While answers are provided in Section A and B, the learners are asked to translate some items in this Section from Chinese into English.

In this Section, the learners are given a Chinese sentence. They are required to translate part of the Chinese sentence into English. Moreover, in order to make the translation task easier for the learners, to reduce the possible syntactic problems involved, and to gear the learners to the expected answers as far as possible owing to the awareness of the fact that the same Chinese expression may be translated in different ways into English conveying the same meaning, the English translation for the remaining part of the Chinese sentence is provided on the answer sheet.

The items in this Section include V+O combinations, both Delexical and Non-delexical e.g. `give trouble´, `take a degree´ etc.

8.1.3.4 Section D

This Section also consists of 6 questions. The learners are asked to translate an English expression into Chinese.

So, instead of a Chinese sentence, the learners are given an English sentence. They are required to translate part of the English sentence into Chinese or Cantonese. In this respect, this translation section is more difficult than the last one. This is because in Section C the learners have no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the items which are given in Chinese. All that they have to do is to look for English expressions of the same meaning. In this exercise, however, since the items are given in English, if the learners do not have any knowledge of the items or if they cannot deduce the meaning of the items from the context, there is no way they can cope with the translation task. Items included in this Section are more idiomatic by nature e.g. `take things easy´, `make a meal of it´, `give somebody the creeps´ etc.

As a matter of fact, Section C and Section D combined can also be viewed as a test on a list of items ranging from those which are more transparent in meaning e.g. `give trouble´ to those which are more opaque e.g. `give somebody the creeps´ and from those which are relatively loose e.g. `give/make a speech´ to those which are more or less fixed e.g. `make a meal of it´.

It is hoped that results of these two Sections combined may throw some light on whether the learners find items of a certain nature more difficult than items of other nature.

The results of each Section of the Test will be discussed in detail in the following few sections.

8.2 Results of Section A

The aim of Section A is to find out whether the Hong Kong learners avoid or prefer usages of the three verbs in chunk form. Results of the Test show that the answers given by the learners include:

1 Answers in the form of Chunks chosen from the correct binary choices

2 Answers in the form of Non-chunks chosen from the correct binary choices

3 Answers chosen from the wrong binary choices

4 Missing answers.

In the following discussion, the focus will be on answers chosen from the correct binary choices. Other kinds of answers are disregarded. A summary of the answers is given in the following table:

Table 8.2 Frequencies of the usages of the binary choices in the form of Chunks and Non-chunks for questions 1-9 in the Test (percentages in brackets give relative frequencies in relation to

the total number of answers selected from the correct binary choices for each item). Results are arranged according to the descending order of the proportion of the preference for choice in chunk form.

Q. ITEM	NON-CHUNK	CHUNK
2 removed/ took off	7(23)	24(77)
9 evidenced/ gave evidence of	5(36)	9(64)
7 described/ gave a description of	15(63)	9(38)
4 escaped/ made their getaway	19(66)	10(34)
1 did not notice/ took no notice of	14(70)	6(30)
5 recorded/ took down	16(62)	10(28)
6 reported/ made a report of	14(78)	4(22)
3 heard/ made out	20(87)	3(13)
8 moved towards/ made for	22(100)	0(0)

Q=Question

So, the above table indicates that as far as question 2 is concerned, 31 (7+24) out of the 39 learners have chosen their answers from the correct binary choices i.e. remove/took off. Among these 31 learners, 7 of them prefer the answer `removed' i.e. 23% and 24 of them prefer the answer `took off' i.e. 77% of the total number of answers from the correct binary choices. The remaining 8 learners have made wrong choices or have not attempted the question.

The general impression is that except for questions 2 and 9, the proportion of answers in the form of Non-chunks is higher than that of Chunks. A closer examination of those two exceptions has, however, revealed something quite interesting.

Firstly (and surprisingly), the item in question 2 is `take off´, the same item which has been found frequently used in the Hong Kong essays in the last study. These similar findings may imply that the Hong Kong learners have a preference for this item in particular. If this is true, the effect of the cartoon provided by the essay question in the last study may not be as strong as it has been assumed. However, there is no evidence in the findings that the learners `prefer´ to use the verb `take´ as it is not the verb most frequently chosen as answers in Section B where the 4 delexical verbs are provided. (The frequency of the choice of the 4 verbs as `answers´ in Section B as stated earlier are repeated as follows: Give:23%, Make:21%, Take:19% and Do:16% while the proportion of Missing answer is 21%).

The other exception is question 9. Results of the analysis have shown that the Hong Kong learners prefer the chunk `gave evidence of´ to the single-word lexical item `evidence´. This may be explained by the fact that `give evidence´ has a word-for-word Cantonese equivalent and this delexical usage may therefore well be a fortuitous usage, like the delexical usage of `give information to´ found in the Hong Kong essay in the last study, which also has a word-for-word Cantonese equivalent. This effect of the mother tongue may further be confirmed by the fact that though there is another item of the verb GIVE i.e. `give a

description of' in the same Section, the proportion of the preference for the Non-chunk form `described' is higher than the Chunk form `gave a description of'. This is probably because there is no word-for-word equivalent for such an expression in Cantonese.

In the table above, the two items with the lowest proportion of answers in chunk form are `make out' and `make for', the former a Phrasal Verb and the latter a Prepositional Verb. These findings are in sharp contrast to that of the essays by the British learners and the Mini Corpus (the British adults). Recall that in the 60 British essays, altogether 1 Prepositional Verb and 4 Phrasal Verbs have been found. They are of the item `make for' and `make out' respectively! Similarly, in the Mini Corpus, 2 out of the 20 Phrasal Verbs found are of the item `make out' and all of the 16 Intransitive Prepositional Verbs found are of the item `make for'! On the contrary, while 22 Hong Kong learners in the Test prefer `move towards', none of them prefer `make for'. The avoidance may be due to the learners' ignorance of the chunk `make for'. In fact, unless the learners know the meaning of these two idiomatic expressions, they will not be able to choose them. That the item `make out' has a relatively higher proportion of choice than `make for' may possibly be due to the fact that it is used Transitively and the Object of the sentence `what they said' has given the learners some clue to its meaning. The Intransitive Prepositional Verb `make for', on the other hand, does not provide any help as far as meaning is concerned. In the contrary,

being familiar with the core meaning of the verb MAKE, the Hong Kong learners may possibly associate this chunk mistakenly with the SVOO usage e.g. `Mary made a cake for you´.

The item `make a report´ also has a low proportion of answers in chunk form though it has a Cantonese equivalent which is also a delexical chunk.

Conclusion: Results of this Section indicate that except for the particular items e.g. `take off´, the Hong Kong learners avoid usages in chunk form even though these usages are appropriate to the style of the writing.

8.3 Results of Section B

The aim of this Section is to find out the Hong Kong learners' ability to select the right verbs to form the right chunks, which include both Delexical and Non-delexical chunks. Results of Section B are summarized in the following table:

Table 8.3 Frequencies of Missing, Incorrect and Correct answers to questions 10-18 in Section B (percentages in brackets are in relation to the total number of 39 answers for each item). The questions are arranged in accordance with the descending order of Correct answers.

Q. ITEM	MISSING	INCORRECT	CORRECT
12 take a photograph	4(10)	5(13)	30(77)
11 give sb a hug	4(10)	11(28)	24(62)
10 make a change	5(13)	11(28)	23(59)
18 give up	4(10)	14(36)	21(54)
14 make a fuss over	6(15)	21(54)	12(31)
16 make do with	8(21)	19(48)	12(31)
13 give credit for	5(13)	27(69)	7(18)
17 take after	6(15)	26(67)	7(18)
15 take an interest in	5(13)	32(82)	2(5)

First of all, it is quite interesting to note that the first three items in the column for Correct usages are neither Prepositional Verbs nor Phrasal Verbs. They are all Delexical Chunks of the SVO and SVOO types.

Secondly, though both `give up´ and `take after´ belong to the V+P category, results of the Test indicate that the learners find the latter more difficult, which is, like `make for´, an Intransitive Prepositional Verb. The high score for `give up´ may possibly be because of common usage.

On the other hand, although the proportion of Incorrect usages for both `make a fuss over´ and `take an interest in´ is higher than that of the Correct usages, the learners seem to find the latter item more difficult. This may be due to cross linguistic reasons. The meanings conveyed by both items are expressed in the Chinese language. However, the Chinese verb in the

combination `make a fuss´ is closer in meaning to its English counterpart while the Chinese verb in the combination `take an interest in´ is definitely not the same, in fact, very remote in meaning. As regard `take an interest in´ the Chinese expression is `give rise to interest´. The effect of L1 interference is supported by the fact that among the 4 options i.e. `make´, `take´, `do´ and `give´, the former two are selected by very few learners and most of the learners go for `do´ and `give´, particularly the latter i.e. `give´.

The relatively low score for `give somebody credit for´ may probably be because of the learners´ ignorance of the meaning of the Object in this Transitive Prepositional usage. For most of the Hong Kong learners, the meaning of the noun `credit´ is mainly related to money matters or the bank accounts. And they may not be aware of the fact that when used in different company, the same word may convey a different meaning or the whole chunk may take on a new meaning.

The combination `make do with´ is the item with the highest proportion of Missing answers, which implies that this is the item most unfamiliar to the learners. However, this item is not the one with the highest proportion of Incorrect answers in Section B. In this regard, those who are familiar with the teaching or testing materials available in Hong Kong may not find the outcome surprising. The fact is, items with unfamiliar structures (in this case V+V+N) and opaque meanings and therefore considered to be particularly difficult to the learners are often taken great care of in the aforesaid materials

irrespective of how frequently they may be used by native-speakers of the target language. So, for those students who have attempted a considerable number of test papers or exercises, they may have benefited from the result of `trial and error´. Nevertheless, that this item has got the largest number of Missing answers reveals that the opaque meaning does cause difficulty despite the intensive drills the learners may have been given.

Conclusion: As the choice in this exercise is limited to 4 verbs, this is a comparatively easy exercise and the learners have done reasonably well. Analysis of the results, moreover, has shown that the learners have done better in Delexical items than other items belonging to the Prepositional Verb category and the category `Other Combinations.´

8.4 Results of Section C

The aim of this translation exercise is to test the ability of the learners to use the three verbs. Since no choices are given, this Section and the next one are more demanding than the previous two Sections. The results of Section C are summarized in the following table:

Table 8.4 Frequencies of the Missing, Incorrect, Alternative and Correct answers to questions 19-24 in Section C (percentages in brackets give relative frequencies of each item in relation to the total of 39 answers for that item). The questions are arranged according to the descending order of Correct answers.

Q ITEM (IN CHINESE)	MISS	INCOR	ALT	CORRECT
20 make TV programmes	4(10)	8(21)	6(15)	21(54)
19 give sb a lot of trouble	2(5)	20(51)	0(0)	17(44)
23 make a speech	13(33)	25(64)	0(0)	1(3)
24 give somebody a hint	20(51)	18(46)	0(0)	1(3)
21 take a degree	14(36)	8(21)	17(43)	0(0)
22 take a quick look	9(23)	30(77)	0(0)	0(0)

Miss =Missing Answers

Incor=Incorrect Answers

Alt =Alternative Answers

The column `Alt´ are for answers which show that the learners are able to translate the items into English though the expressions used are not the same as the expected answers. Such answers include paraphrases and expressions with grammatical errors but in any event they show the learners´ endeavour to translate the items into English and the process of translation can still be understood with a little difficulty.

The table above displays the following information:

1 The item with the highest proportion of Correct usage is `make TV programmes´ in question 20, which has a Chinese equivalent with the verb `make´ having the same meaning of `produce´.

2. The expression `give your parents a lot of trouble´ has the least Missing answers, a high proportion of Incorrect as well as Correct answers. The high proportion of Correct usages may be explained by the fact that like `make TV programmes´ above, the same expression has a word-for-word Chinese equivalent. As for the high proportion of Incorrect usages, a close examination of the data has revealed something very interesting. It has been found that one of the frequently chosen answers is the distractor `make´. This verb `make´ is a distractor here because `make trouble´ though also a chunk in the English language with meaning similar to `cause trouble´ is usually used in a different context. For example, while the boss **makes trouble** for his employees, children **give** their parents **trouble**. The difficulty of the Hong Kong learners is mainly due to the fact that in the Chinese language, the noun `trouble´ may collocate with the verb `make´ `give´ or `bring´ conveying more or less the same meaning. The error is accordingly caused by mapping a Chinese collocation onto an English combination without being aware of the fact that similar combinations in two languages may be used in different contexts.

The proportion of Correct answers in respect of the other items in this Section is extremely low. These items include `make a speech´, `give a hint´ `take a degree´ and `take a look´, most of which are delexical chunks. This is unexpected as the learners seem to have done reasonably well in delexical chunks in the last exercise. A careful study of the data reveals that the learners have difficulty in translating the Chinese nouns `speech´ `hint´ and `degree´ into English. They simply do

not have the vocabulary. This is confirmed by the relatively high proportion of Missing answers to these questions. The frequent attempt to paraphrase `take a degree´ as shown in the answers is another source of evidence. The item `make a speech´ has been put aside for a separate study which will be reported later.

On the other hand, the problem with `take a look´, which has a high proportion of Incorrect answers, is that the learners have difficulty in distinguishing the usages between the English verb `see´ and `look´ the meaning of both of which may be conveyed by the same word in Chinese.

In conclusion, it has been found that as far as Delexical Chunks are concerned, when the learners are given choices for the answers, they seem to do quite well as shown in the results of Section B. However, when no choices are given, they show the failure to use delexical structures despite the fact that very obvious clues to the delexical chunks are signalled in the Chinese expressions given. This seems to imply that the learners´ ability to comprehend delexical chunks is better than their ability to produce them. This implication seems to lend indirect support to Marton´s (1977) claim that `conventional syntagm´ do not cause any essential difficulty in the process of recognition. On the other hand, relatively high scores are found in the items which have more or less the same expressions in the Chinese language. Nevertheless, L1 may also be an interference when the learners assume wrongly that the Chinese combinations have

word-for-word equivalents in the English language or when they are unaware of the fact that similar chunks in two languages may be used in different contexts.

8.5 Results of Section D

This Section is also a translation exercise but the learners are required to translate some idiomatic expressions from English into Chinese. The results of Section D are summarized in the following table:

Table 8.5 Frequencies of the Missing, Incorrect, and Correct answers to questions 25-30 in section D (percentages in brackets give relative frequencies of each item in relation to the total 39 answers for that item). The questions are arranged in descending order of Correct answers.

Q. ITEM	MISSING	INCOR	CORRECT
27 make matters worse	12(31)	16(41)	11(28)
25 give sb a lift	10(25)	24(62)	5(13)
26 take things easy	12(31)	26(66)	1(3)
28 make a meal of it	18(46)	21(54)	0(0)
29 take sb down a peg or two	18(46)	21(54)	0(0)
30 give sb the creeps	18(46)	21(54)	0(0)

Correct answers in the above table include those answers which indicate the learners having a rough idea about the meaning of the expressions.

The results seem to have split the questions into two groups: questions 27, 25 & 26 and questions 28, 29 & 30. Roughly speaking, the former group has relatively fewer Missing answers and more Correct answers than the latter group. This indicates that the learners are slightly more familiar with items in the former group though the results of this Section are least satisfactory among the four Sections in the Test. The reason may be that these 3 items are relatively more transparent in meaning than the other three.

It should also be pointed out that the proportion of Correct answers to question 27 is much higher than that of the other two items i.e. Q 25&26 possibly because this item happens to have a Chinese equivalent with more or less the same lexical items and a relatively similar grammatical structure which are nonexistent in the other two items. It may be interesting to note that one of the participants of the Test whose answer sheet contains altogether 23 Missing answers, 6 Incorrect answers and 1 Correct answer has got his only score on this particular item! Another participant who has attained a total of 2 Correct answers in the Test also gets this item right. This may at the same time imply that chunks with similar words and grammatical structures in two languages are easier to learn including those which are relatively idiomatic in meaning.

By sheer coincidence, the results show the same proportion of Missing answers and Incorrect answers in respect of the last three items i.e. Q 28, 29 & 30 and moreover, no Correct answers

to any of them have been found. The inability of the learners to answer the last three questions is apparently due to their opaque meaning which makes it difficult for them to guess the meaning from the context.

As a matter of fact, the Incorrect answers to these questions have shown very clearly that in most cases, the learners are unaware of the idiomatic usage of the combinations and tend to translate the given English expressions word by word literally. For example, the item `make a meal of it´ has been interpreted by an overwhelming majority of the learners as an expression related to `preparing food´.

It may also be interesting to point out that being ignorant of the meaning of the items in this Section in general, some learners have made guesses associated with the orthography or the pronunciation of the words in the English combinations e.g. `lift´ in `give a lift´ has been incorrectly translated into `left´ and `life´ whereas `creeps´ in `give somebody the creeps´ mistakenly into `crisps´.

In conclusion, results of this Section have shown that learners seem to have greater difficulty with expressions which are generally assumed to be `idiomatic´. Besides, the effect of the L1 has been found to be both positive and negative.

8.6 Conclusion and Discussion

It can be said that on the whole the findings of the Test have confirmed the analysis of the British/Hong Kong essays i.e. Hong Kong learners have difficulty in using chunks of the three delexical verbs. In addition, the results of this complementary study have also indicated some of the possible causes of the difficulties involved, some of which are comparable to those found in the separate study of the Non-native speaker in the last chapter.

Taking the results of the Test as a whole into consideration, it seems that the learners have particular difficulty in using V+P chunks such as Prepositional Verbs e.g. `make for´, `take after´ and idioms such as `make a meal of it´ and `take things easy´. The primary cause of the difficulty is the obscure meaning of the combinations i.e. the meaning of the whole combination cannot be derived from its parts.

In fact, as mentioned earlier, Section C and Section D combined include a range of items with various degrees of idiomaticity in meaning and various degrees of fixity in structures. Results of these two Sections in totality seem to indicate that the learners do better in Non-delexical chunks e.g. `make TV programmes´ than Delexical chunks e.g. `make a speech´ and they do better in chunks which are more transparent in meaning e.g. `make matters worse´ than expressions which are entirely fixed and opaque in meaning e.g. `make a meal of it´ and `make do with´.

Moreover, the analysis of the results of the Test has also shown the obvious effect of L1 in the use of chunks. Very often, correct answers may result from the coincidence of Chinese and English expressions which may be similar in lexis or in grammatical structures e.g. `make TV programmes´ `give sb troubles´ etc. This applies to expressions which are more idiomatic as well e.g. `make matters worse´. On the other hand, the learners´ L1 may be an interference when they translate one language into the other without being aware of the fact that the lexical realization of chunks with similar meanings in two languages may be different e.g. `**give** sb trouble´ and `take a **look**´. Both the positive and negative effects of L1 as shown above may have very far reaching implications for the learning of Chunks of the English language among the Hong Kong learners.

As far as the usages of Delexical Chunks are concerned, it may be said that the performance of the learners has been counter-checked as Delexical items have been allocated in Sections A, B and C (Clapham 1991: personal communication). Results of the test as a whole have shown that when the Delexical verbs are provided, more than half of the learners can choose correctly, when binary choices are given, there is a tendency in the learners to avoid using the delexical option and, when the learners are asked to translate some Chinese expressions into English i.e. actually using delexical chunks, their performance is unsatisfactory even though the Chinese expressions are in the form of delexical chunks. These findings lend strong support to the findings of the previous study where significant differences

in the usage of delexical chunks are found between the British and the Hong Kong essays. This also explains why while delexical chunks of verbs other than `make´, `give´ and `take´ have also been found in the Br essays but the Hk essays on the contrary have shown instances where delexical chunks should/could have been used but were not used such as the example `call the telephone, calle to the police station´ [=make a call to the police station].

Indeed, in order to look deeper into the difficulty involved in using these delexical chunks, a detailed examination of how the learners have attempted to translate one of them from Chinese into English has been made. The item chosen for investigation is `**make a speech**´, which is provided in Chinese in question 23 of Section C. In the following analysis, all other errors e.g. errors in grammar, tenses and spelling are disregarded. The answers to this question are repeated below for ease of reference:

ANSWERS	FREQUENCY
Missing answers	(13)
Correct answers	(1)
Alternative answers	(0)
Incorrect answers	(25)

The following is a classification of the 25 Incorrect answers as found in the data:

Incorrect answers showing difficulty in translating the noun `speech´ from Chinese into English:

say the	(1)
tell	(1)
go to talking	(1)

Instances showing the attempt to use the noun `speech´ as a verb possibly due to first language interference as in Chinese the item [演說] can be used both as a noun and a verb.

speech	(3)
speec	(1)
spreed	(1)
will speech	(2)
are speeding	(1)

Instances showing the attempt to use a V+O structure in translating the item into English but with wrong delexical verbs:

had a speech	(2)
have speech	(2)
have a speeck	(1)
take a speech	(1)
did speech	(1)

Instances showing the attempt to use a V+O structure in translating the item into English with the non-delexical verb:

spoke something	(1)
performed the speaking	(1)
expressed his speech	(1)
talking speech	(1)
told a speech	(1)
declared his reported	(1)
spoke a speech	(1)

The last answer `spoke a speech´ is a very interesting case. It shows the unconscious realization on the part of the learner of the need for a verb which does not have much meaning i.e. a delexical verb. Unfortunately, the delexical option does not exist in the mind of the learner.

The investigation above has demonstrated very clearly the difficulty involved even in a very simple and common expression in the English language such as `make a speech.´. Chinese language, in fact, has the same expression in chunk form in respect of meaning and grammatical structure i.e. V+O (作書演說), and the equivalent Chinese verb can also be used delexically. However, these similarities are not likely to provide much help to the Hong Kong learners unless they have the knowledge of the English chunk. Moreover, some chunks may be culturally bound. For instance, part of the difficulty with `make a speech´ is the way one makes a speech, the nature of the speech, the place one makes a speech etc. In any case, results of this investigation point to the urgent need to introduce to the learners the company a word keeps at the same time as the word is learnt. The delexical chunk is just an example of one of the various types of company some words keep.

Chapter 9

Implications for Teaching

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to consolidate the findings of the previous few chapters and then to consider some of their implications for teaching. Attention will then be focused on the role of Memory in the learning of chunks in the two closing chapters of this thesis.

The discussion in this chapter is therefore based entirely on the conclusions arrived at in the linguistic analysis in Chapter 5 and the corpus analysis of the verb MAKE in Chapter 6 as well as the respective findings of the study of the British/Hong Kong essays and the Hong Kong Test in chapters 7 and 8.

Moreover, it must be emphasized that though only a typical member of the delexical verb family i.e. MAKE has been chosen for the present study, it is hoped that the meticulous examination of one of the commonest words in the English language may provide a tiny window through which one can see more clearly how the language actually operates. It is further hoped that these findings may lead to useful implications for teaching.

As a matter of fact, this study has thrown up all sorts of lines that could be followed and the things that it points out have relevance to teaching in a number of ways. The following will discuss some of them.

9.2 The Building Blocks of the Language

The deepest impression one may have in respect of the linguistic and the corpus analysis of the verb MAKE is that `chunks of words´ rather than isolated words are the building blocks of the language. The term `chunk´ here refers to `a string of language´ in a more general sense. That is to say, sentences of the language are made up of `chunks´ of different natures and sizes.

Take the most frequently used pattern i.e. SVO in the Mini Corpus for example. The basic elements in the Monotransitive pattern include a Subject, a Verb and an Object. However, the Monotransitive usages in the Mini Corpus have shown that these basic elements are usually used alongside other additional elements. For example, in many cases, the Object in the sentence is followed by a Postmodifier as in

(1) ..all those assembled made loud sounds *of pleasure*

or the whole sentence may be followed by an Adjunct as in

(2) They made art *in response to the god-like forces*

On the other hand, those examples of the SVOC category where the Complex Transitive clauses contain an Object and an Adjectival Object Complement are usually followed by various types of Adjective Complementation e.g.

(3)..which made local authorities responsible *for the*..

Similarly, examples of the Complex Transitive category realized by the Bare-infinitive clauses are usually followed by complementations of the non-finite verbs when used as full verbs e.g.

(4) make somebody feel *a rush of pity for*..

Nonetheless, it is in the collocational use of the language that its `chunky´ nature most vividly surfaces. The collocational relationship may be between the Verb and the Preposition as in

(5) Beer is *made from* hops

Or it may be between the Adverb and the Adjectival Object Complement as in

(6) V+O+*terribly wet*

The Premodifiers in the form of Adverbs in these examples, as has already pointed out in the Mini Corpus analysis, have the function of Intensifiers.

Sometimes the collocational link may be between the Premodifier and the Nominal Subject Complement as in

(7) He will make a *good Minister*

or between the Premodifier and the Nominal Object Complement as in

(8) They made him *the highest paid star*..

The examples discussed above have indicated that the sentences used by the native speakers of the language are fraught with `chunks´ of one kind or another and the relations between the words in the chunks may be grammatical, semantic or lexical. This view of the language throws doubt upon the teaching of grammar which usually puts emphasis on the basic elements of the grammatical patterns to such an extent that the learners are totally unaware of the `chunky´ aspect of the language and as a result the sentences produced by the learners are similar to those used for illustrations in grammar text books i.e. sentences which are grammatically correct but only simplified versions of actual language use. This is also one of the reasons for the `unEnglishness´ of their expressions.

9.3 Grammar and Meaning

Examples (7) and (8) above have at the same time demonstrated another aspect of the language which has been very thoroughly discussed in the conclusions of both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 i.e.

the close association between syntax and semantics. In brief, it has been noted that a certain form is associated with a certain meaning and a certain meaning is conveyed in a certain form. For instance, both the Nominal Subject Complement in example (7) `Minister´ and the Nominal Object Complement in example (8) `star´ are premodified by collocating Adjectives carrying favourable connotations i.e. `good´ and `the highest paid´ respectively.

For another example, most Complex Transitive usages in the Mini Corpus which are realized by the Bare infinitive clauses show that the Subjects of the sentences are usually inanimate and the non-finite verbs in the Complex Transitive clauses usually express the state of emotion or momentary event as in

The sharp cry made her *shiver*

A further example is the use of the Passive with certain items in particular when the speakers of the language intend to focus on the Objects or avoid mentioning the Subjects in the sentences e.g. `make into´ and `make a fool of´ etc. The passive is, of course, also found to be associated with formal language e.g. `be made known´.

The close link between syntax and semantics challenges the validity of teaching the grammar of the language without any reference to the meaning embedded in it. Moreover, since there

is such a close association between grammar and meaning, it is probable that the teaching of grammar may be more efficient when the focus is on meaning.

9.4 Habitual Usages

Another finding of the Mini Corpus is that some items of a certain category may be much more frequently used by the speakers of the language than other items in the same category. One very striking example is the use of the item `make for´. The fact is, all the 16 Intransitive Prepositional usages in the Mini Corpus have been found to be of the item `make for´. The frequency of some items of other categories such as `make a fortune´, `make available´, `make aware´, `make clear´, `make use of´, `make into´, `make a difference´, `make from´, `make a fool of oneself´, `make up´ etc is also too obvious in the Mini Corpus to be ignored.

Since the objective of English language learning in Hong Kong is to be able to use it, it may be more effective if the teacher adopts those items frequently used in the speech or writing of the native speakers for demonstration when introducing a certain category of usage. Particularly in the selection of items to be practised by the learners, priority should be given to these frequently used items. In this respect, a dictionary such as the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary does make a very useful reference for the purpose as the ordering within the entry of each word has been decided by consideration of several criteria one of which is frequency.

9.5 Assumptions about Language

As pointed out in the conclusion of Chapter 6, there may be discrepancies between what is generally assumed about the language and how the language is actually used. For example, though it has been generally claimed that the Verb+Particle Combinations are often used in Spoken language, however, all the examples of the Intransitive Prepositional Verb, Intransitive Phrasal Verb and Transitive Prepositional Verb categories are found in Written language and, moreover, only 6% of the usages of the Phrasal Verb category are used in Spoken language. This implies that some of the long-standing assumptions on which teaching materials have been based may be groundless and there is the need to see actually what really goes on in Spoken and Written language. We cannot take these assumptions for granted just because one or two well-known text books say that Phrasal Verbs are not much used in writing but very heavily used in speaking. Things are not so clearcut as was assumed in the light of what has been discovered here.

All the lines discussed above might fruitfully be followed up elsewhere in the future but this particular thesis is intended to confine itself only to those aspects in the previous 4 chapters related to the chunks of the language and the teaching of these chunks. The following will concentrate on these aspects.

9.6 Chunks and the Vocabulary of the Language

In a nutshell, the term chunk in this study refers to the company a word frequently or habitually keeps. It is not a free combination but a combination which can be identified on a scale of idiomaticity. Chunks along this scale may range from those which are comparatively more transparent to those which are relatively more opaque in meaning and, what is more, from those which are looser in structure to those which are relatively fixed.

In view of the usages of chunks, the findings of the Mini Corpus analysis have shown that more than half of the usages of the verb MAKE are in the form of chunks. This is a very clear indication that chunks are a prominent feature in actual language use. The fact is that words of the language are often used in company with other words generating various kinds of combinations and producing various kinds of meanings.

Indeed, the meanings of the words are realized in the company they keep. For instance, even though MAKE is used in the same grammatical pattern (SVO) in the following sentences, its meaning in each example, due to the changes in the neighbouring words, may become very different:

(1) She [made a cup of coffee]

(2) She [made a mess]

(3) That [made a difference]

(4) She [made a fortune]

(5) She [made all the arrangements]

Obviously, the meaning of MAKE is not the same when used in different grammatical structures:

(6) make an interesting couple

(7) make their way towards the crowd

(8) make a noise

(9) make him a name

(10) make it clear that

(11) make a man of him

(12) make the sitting room into a kitchen

(13) make use of the victory

(14) make fun of him

(15) make a fool of himself

(16) make for the open sea

(17) make up for the play

(18) make up for lost time

(19) make do with the little food left

(20) make good

The following points can be made about the examples above:

1 In some combinations of words, the specific meaning of the word MAKE is related to the grammatical pattern to which it belongs e.g. MAKE has the meaning of the principal copular `be´ in (6) (SVCs) and the meaning of `moving´ in (7) (SVAs).

2 The meaning of some combinations is more transparent than the others. Let us consider (8) and (17) above. The meaning of the chunk `make a noise´ is the sum of the meaning of its parts `make´ and `a noise´ combined. However, this is not the case with `make up´ in (17) where it is impossible to tell the individual meanings of `make´ and `up´ but rather the meaning lies in the chunk `make up´ i.e. applying cosmetics on one´s face. In this case, the chunk is a semantic unit. For the same reason, `make for´ in (16) is also a semantic unit.

3 Although the meaning of examples such as (9) and (10) above can be considered idiomatic, the grammatical patterns of these chunks are related to the basic patterns of the verb MAKE i.e SVOO and SVOC. However, this is not the case with examples such as (18), (19) and (20) the structures of which are not regular but specifically related to the verb MAKE in particular.

4 More significantly, examples such as (7), (8), (10), (13), (15) above show the delexical use of the verb in delexical structures realized by V+N, V+A and V+N+P+N where the verb has lost most of its meaning and the meaning of the chunk lies mainly in the nouns or adjectives immediately after. The delexical use of the verb MAKE in the Mini Corpus has been found to be particularly distinguishing and the findings of the Mini Corpus have, as a matter of fact, evidenced that about 78% of the chunks there are of this nature.

The frequent usages of chunks and in particular delexical chunks as found in the Mini Corpus, it is hoped, have put forward a strong case that native speakers of the language use a large quantity of chunks in their communication. As regards the learning of the language, an obvious implication is that in order to acquire L2 lexical competence, it is insufficient to concentrate on the single-word lexical items of the vocabulary but rather it is essential to learn the chunks of the vocabulary. That is to say, in learning a word, it is important to learn at the same time the different kinds of company it keeps i.e. the chunks in which the word is used and from which its meaning is derived. Moreover, the more frequently a word is found to be used in a certain kind of company, the more important is the company kept. Take the verb MAKE in the present study for example. As it is a typical member of the delexical verb family and the delexical use of the verb has been found to be significantly frequent in the Mini Corpus, it goes without saying that in learning the various kinds of company of the verb MAKE, a sound knolwedge of the delexical use of the verb is essential to the learners. More importantly, as different words may have different properties, the characteristics of the company they keep may change accordingly. This kind of knowledge is surely very useful to the teacher in the selection of teaching materials and in the adjustment of the focus of teaching. Finally, it has to be emphasized that by learning chunks we mean not only the knowledge of the chunks but also the ability of using the chunks **in sentences** and **in appropriate situations**. It is because it is in actual contexts that the functions of chunks are realized.

9.7 The Hong Kong Essays and Test

The importance of chunks in the language having been confirmed, a further attempt has also been made to find out the Hong Kong learners' knowledge of this aspect of the language in chapters 7 & 8.

The investigation into the British and Hong Kong essays has shown that when compared with their British counterparts, the Hong Kong learners have been found to use the delexical verbs under study i.e. `make', `give' and `take' less grammatically, less in chunk form and much less delexically, even though they have used the verbs more frequently in their essays. Take the verb `make' for example. There are altogether 30 usages in the two groups combined and 43% of these usages are chunks but none of them are found in the Hong Kong essays. For another example, the items such as `make out' and `make for' which have been found to be used frequently in the Mini Corpus as well as in the British essays are simply non-existent in the Hong Kong essays. On the other hand, when certain chunks occur frequently in the Hong Kong essays, they seem to be a result of the learners' dependency on props e.g. the Phrasal Verb `take off' or a result of the coincidence of Cantonese translation and good English usage e.g. the delexical chunk `give information (to)'. As a matter of fact, the usage of delexical chunks in the British essays is 78% more than that of the Hong Kong essays. Another unexpected but related finding is that even among the British learners, those who are more fluent in the language are found to

use delexical chunks more frequently. This finding is of course evidence in support of the fact that delexicality is associated with fluency.

On the other hand, the complementary study based on the test given exclusively to the Hong Kong learners has confirmed the findings of the study of the essays. One of the facts revealed in the results of the test is that Hong Kong learners often avoid using chunks which have been used comfortably by the British learners in their essays. Moreover, the results of the test have indicated some possible causes of the difficulty in using chunks among the Hong Kong learners. For example, the L1 of the learners seems to play an important role in the learning of chunks. The fact is, the learners seem to perform better in cases where the chunks have a Chinese equivalent e.g. `make TV programmes´. On the contrary, L1 interference is evident when the same meaning is realized by different collocating words in the two languages e.g. `take an interest in´ where `give´ instead of `take´ is used in the Chinese expression. L1 interference is also obvious in cases where similar chunks in the two languages are used in different contexts e.g. `give trouble´.

However, it is the findings based on the close examination of the chunk `make a speech´ in particular that are most enlightening and interesting of all. A detailed analysis of this simple, common and frequently used chunk in the language has shown that among the 39 learners who take the test, only 1 of them can translate the chunk from Chinese to English correctly. In general, most of the learners have some idea that the

expression is a combination of words i.e. a chunk, but some of them have difficulty with the verb e.g. `did speech´, `spoke a speech´ and some of them have difficulty with the noun e.g. `say the´, `tell´. A few of them do not even have the knowledge that the item is a chunk e.g. `will speech´ `are speeding´ etc. The point is, if the use of such a simple chunk of the language does reflect this difficulty encountered by the Chinese learners, it can be imagined how much the difficulty really is in the use of other chunks which are far more complicated. As a matter of fact, the results of the test have also indicated that the Hong Kong learners have greater difficulty in the chunks which are more opaque in meaning. For instance, it is easier for them to understand the chunk `make matters worse´ than the chunk `make a meal of it´.

9.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be safely said that although the number of usages of MAKE and other delexical verbs in the 60 Hong Kong and 60 British essays is smaller than expected and the test given to the 39 Hong Kong learners is not a primary test but a complementary study, what has been revealed is quite unambiguous. The Hong Kong learners´ ability to use the chunks of the delexical verbs under study still leaves much to be desired. The test in particular has indicated some of the possible causes of the difficulty but one fact that is commonly obvious in both the study of the Hong Kong essays and the test is that the learners, on the whole, are deficient in the knowledge of the chunks of the L2 and the ability to use them.

The evidence in the Mini Corpus, on the other hand, has suggested an alternative to the traditional view of regarding the single-word lexical items as the only unit of the vocabulary of the language. The frequency of chunks in the Mini Corpus indicates that chunks surely are the important units of the vocabulary of the language and the native speakers use tens and thousands of chunks of all sorts in their speech or writing. Accordingly, the performance of the Hong Kong learners as revealed by the essays and the test has called into question the validity of the traditional way of vocabulary teaching which focuses exclusively on the teaching of single word lexical items and neglects the importance of chunks in the language and the need to learn them.

In places like Hong Kong where the objective of learning the L2 is to be able to use the language, it is particularly important that the language teachers themselves should be aware of this significant aspect of the L2 vocabulary and the need for the learners to learn the chunks of the L2. In other words, it is necessary to have a new approach to vocabulary teaching which will help improve the learners's lexical competence more effectively. The role of Memory is in the circumstances an essential remedy in the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation, the rationale of which, however, will be considered in greater detail in Chapters 10 and Chapter 11.

9.9 Post-script: The Core and the Periphery

It would perhaps be a mistake to move on to the next chapter before considering briefly questions about the `core´ and the `periphery´ because these concepts are concerned with the issue of learnability and therefore have implications for what is most likely to be learnt before the others or what is easier to be remembered and recalled.

It is impossible to look at all the works in this area and this section will look particularly at Kellerman´s work. It is, however, worth remembering the Chomskyan view that the learning of a language is a creative construction in which the `core´ based on Universal Grammar is learned before the `periphery´. Such a view has been held in some quarters to be applicable to second language learning as well. The implication is that the core may be more learnable or most likely to be remembered.

What is also worth mentioning is a more semantic view represented by Clark and Nelson and the conflicting responses of Bowerman and Roche. As Carter (1987:148) summarizes, both Clark´s `semantic feature aquisition hypothesis´ (Clark:1973) and Nelson´s `functional core concept´ (Nelson:1974) approach the semantic attributes of words although they do it from different perspectives. Bowerman (1978), however, challenges the basic assumption of Clark and Nelson as he has observed that it is not possible to isolate similarities between features or to determine which particular features(s) is `prototypical´. Nevertheless, Rosch (1973) has conducted some psycholinguistcally oriented

tests which measure the perceptual salience of some words over others in the same semantic fields. For example, regarding the Category `bird´, it has been found that 377 of the subjects under study have a preference for the item `robin´, but only 3 of the subjects have a preference for `bat´. Findings of this kind of experiments may imply that the prototypical features of words are most accessible to learners.

Now let us turn to Kellerman´s work which may be seen as a bridge between L1 theory and L2 learning. In brief, Kellerman´s work demonstrates that the core meaning as perceived by the L1 speakers is more transferrable from the L1 to the L2 and the most peripheral meaning is the least transferrable.

For example, in a study of the various uses of the polysemous verb `break´, Kellerman (1978) finds a systematic preference among the Dutch students for `transparent´ uses, senses of `breken´ that are closer to the `core meaning´ of the verb are seen as more transferrable into English than other forms are (with the core meaning being determined through an experimental procedure). For instance, *She broke his heart* was perceived as more translatable than *Some workers have broken the strike* even though there is nothing anomalous about either sentence or their translation equivalence.

Similarly, Kellerman (1986) studies two other polysemous words `eye´ and `head´ and the findings confirm those of his previous experiments. For example, it has been found that there is an overwhelming agreement among the Dutch students that `human eye´

would be translatable and `eye of a needle´ and `electronic eye´ would be more translatable than `eye of a potato´ and `eye on dice´.

With regard to the relevance of the findings of his work to L2 acquisition, Kellerman contends, `Some sense may be acquired for free, so to speak, by virtue of their existence in the L1 and the operation of universal generalization processes within the learners. Others, the more idiomatic sense, may require positive evidence in the L2 before they can be acquired; if they are already instanced in the L1, one token may be enough.´

Kellerman goes as far as to suggest that `it would be interesting to see whether specifically teaching learners the least prototypical sense of a word would enable them to acquire without positive evidence the more prototypical sense; the teaching of more prototypical sense should not have a beneficial effect on the acquisition of the less prototypical ones.´

A few points can be made about Kellerman´s work. First of all, it should be admitted that Kellerman´s experiments are not only interesting but inspiring when compared with the pure linguistic analysis of core meaning. However, though Kellerman claims that a feature which is perceived as infrequent, irregular, semantically or structurally opaque, or in any other way exceptional is less transferrable, he admits that `it is difficult to determine exactly what is being measured when one asks for judgements of similarity or fluency´ (Kellerman 1986:43,44).

Secondly, according to Kellerman, idioms are not transferrable. However, Odlin (1989:143,144) puts forward examples of opaque idioms being translated in the L2. Similarly, Irujo (1986) who investigates whether L2 learners use knowledge of their L1 to `comprehend´ and `produce´ idioms in the L2 among some Venezuelan students of English has found that `identical idioms´ (between L1 and L2) are the easiest to comprehend and produce. `Similar idioms´ are comprehended almost as well but show intereference from Spanish. `Different idioms´ are the most difficult to comprehend and produce but show less interference than similar idioms. Furthermore, within each type, the idioms that are comprehended and produced most correctly are those which are frequently used and transparent and which have simple vocabulary and structure. In fact, the findings of the Test attempted by the Hong Kong learners are to a certain extent similar to those of Irujo.

Thirdly, it should be remembered that Kellerman works on Dutch students only and whether his work should be taken as having identified constraints on semantic transfer in any second language context should be treated with caution. Moreover, it should also be mentioned that the language distance between Chinese and English is much greater than that between Dutch and English.

In conclusion, it should be said that it is too early to assume that concepts such as core meaning and transferability are equated with order of acquisition. On the other hand, what has been confirmed by the Mini Corpus analysis is the frequency of

chunks in the actual use of language. As the purpose of learning the English language in Hong Kong is to be able to use it, the main concern of the teachers is whether the learners have adequate knowledge of chunks to be able to communicate comfortably and happily with the L2 speakers. This implies that as long as the L2 chunks are frequently used by the speakers of the language, it is necessary for the learners to learn them well irrespective of whether these chunks are idiomatic or not. Moreover, the essays and the test have shown clearly that the relatively poor performance of the Hong Kong learners is due to the lack of the knowledge of L2 chunks and the knowledge to use them. There is therefore an urgent need to look for a more effective approach to vocabulary teaching which can facilitate the acquisition of these chunks already existing in tens of thousands in the language.

Based on her experience with the Hong Kong learners, and having taken into consideration the learning environment and the learning style of the Hong Kong learners in particular, the researcher suggests that Memory and Memorization should play a very essential role in the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation. Chapter 10 will therefore concentrate on the dynamic aspect of Memory and Chapter 11 will consider the importance of Memorization in the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation.

Chapter 10

Memory and Vocabulary Learning

10.1 Introduction

Having reviewed the findings of the previous few chapters and considered some of the implications for teaching in general and the teaching of chunks in particular, this study will shortly consider the role of memorization in the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation. To do this, it will be necessary to examine the place of English and English teaching in Hong Kong, as well as the historical and cultural reasons for the generally-accepted learning style of the Hong Kong learners. This chapter, however, will prepare the way for this by looking at the nature of memory itself, especially in relation to vocabulary.

10.2 Memory and Vocabulary Learning

As Munsell et al (1988:270) note, `the field of language teaching seems relatively silent on the issue of memory'. The writers also justifiably remark, `this apparent lack of attention is surprising because language learning obviously requires the remembering of thousands of new words and perhaps tens of thousands of choices in putting the words together.'

Although memory is related to learning all the aspects of the language, it is particularly essential to the acquisition of L2 vocabulary. As a matter of fact, the acquisition of the

vocabulary of the language involves two aspects (i.e. comprehension and production), both of which are closely related to memory. The comprehension aspect is related to the understanding of words, the storage of words, the commitment of words to memory whereas the production aspect is associated with the activation of the storage of words, the retrieval of words from memory as well as the use of words grammatically and appropriately. Similarly, Active vocabulary is associated with both the comprehension and production aspects of vocabulary learning while Passive vocabulary is associated with the comprehension aspect only.

As Stevick is one of those few who has made an exploration of the relationship between memory and foreign language learning, the discussion in this chapter will largely be based on some of the main ideas in Stevick's work concerning memory.

10.2.1 Short-Term and Long-Term Memory

Stevick's discussion on Memory is based on the findings of extensive psychological research. Stevick recognizes a distinction between Short-Term Memory and Long-Term Memory and agrees to Ervin and Andrews' (1970) postulation of `secondary' and `tertiary' memory in place of `long-term memory.' Stevick says, `traces in "secondary memory" are variable in duration, and a given item is forgotten largely as a result of interference from similar kinds of information learned before or after.' On the contrary, ` "tertiary memory" is distinguished by its durability and its freedom from interference. But entrance into

tertiary memory requires months or even years of elapsed time. On the other hand, retrieval from tertiary memory is faster than from secondary memory (Stevick 1976:27).'

In fact, Stevick (1980) relates `secondary memory' to `learning' and `tertiary memory' to `acquisition' which are considered to be distinctive and independent learning processes by Krashen. According to Stevick (1980:277), `"Acquisition" comes through experience.....But "experience" can make use of whatever is lying around handy, including *what has recently been memorized.*' This implies that what has been learnt can become acquired. It is in this way that Stevick's language learning theory provides for `seepage' from what has been `learned' into the `acquisition' store, a controversial Krashenian distinction.

10.2.2 Acquisition and Learning

According to Krashen's Acquisition-Hypothesis, `there are two independent ways of developing ability in second languages. "Acquisition" is a subconscious process identical in all important ways to the process children utilize in acquiring their first language, while `learning' is a conscious process that results in `knowing about' language (Krashen 1985:1).' In fact, a lot of research has demonstrated that the subjects who were able to use the L2 might not know the rules, and, on the other hand, subjects who knew the rules might not have the ability to use the language (Ellis 1990:185,186).

However, while it is reasonable to suggest that second languages can be learnt by both conscious and subconscious processes, it is difficult to justify the claim that learning cannot lead to acquisition. As Munsell et al (1988) report, `from a wide variety of fields, including neuropsychology, the arts, psychotherapy, acquisition theory and pedagogy, and cognitive psychology...evidence suggests that conscious processes cannot be sharply separated from unconscious processes.´ The evidence from acquisition theory can be found in Mclaughlin (1987), Bialystok (1980), Sharwood-Smith (1981) etc. McLaughlin (1987 Chapter 2) is particular critical of the acquisition/learning distinction on the ground that it is very difficult to tell what kind of knowledge a learner is using in any single performance. We cannot distinguish very easily editing by `feel´ from editing with the `monitor´.

The position taken by this thesis is: while it is reasonable to distinguish between the conscious and the subconscious processes of learning, it is unnecessary to insist that only the subconscious process leads to acquisition. As regards the `acquisition´ of vocabulary or chunks, so long as the learners know about the sound, spelling and meaning of a certain item and have the ability to use the item grammatically in sentences and appropriately in various contexts, it is reasonable to assume that they have `acquired´ the item as there will not be any problem of their using it in communication with the native speakers of the language. Such being the case, any processes of learning, be it conscious or subconscious, which facilitate `acquisition´ are of equal importance to the learning

of chunks. That is to say, an item may be `acquired´ through both conscious and subconscious means. Moreover, the order of these two processes of learning is insignificant. A learner may learn an item consciously and then subconsciously and vice versa. During the discussion below, the terms `acquisition´ and `learning´ will be used interchangeably.

10.3 Images and Memory

There are two concepts which are essential to Stevick´s discussion of Memory, namely `Image´ and `Depth´. This section will discuss the idea of `Image´ first.

Stevick (1986:1) contends that `memory and availability depend on mental imagery´. Stevick´s idea of mental imagery is based on one of the best-documented principles of memory: **things that are stored together tend to be recovered together** (Stevick 1976:18). Stevick explains, `two items, once they have occurred together in the consciousness of an individual, may from then on have the property of bringing each other back to the consciousness of that same individual. This doesn´t always happen, of course, but it often does (Stevick 1986:9)´.

Referring to Shiffrin (1970:377), Stevick uses the flashcard as an example, `In the very simple case of a word presented visually for memorization, some of this information will include the size and color of the letters, various levels of meaning including the dictionary meaning, its part of speech, and other

closely associated words. The image will also include some indication of the time, place, and emotional tone associated with the experience.'

However, the flashcard is just a `maximally simple example'. Stevick points out, `Many units of information, of many different kinds, are commonly stored in a single, more or less unified "image" (Stevick 1976:18).' Stevick quotes Anisfeld's (1966:113) testification to the effects of this principle of memory in the classroom with reference to the process of learning new materials:

> `A student who studies particular material in one situation may not be able to produce it easily in other situations. Individuals sometimes...have greater difficulty in speaking a foreign language in contexts removed from those in which they learned it than in similar ones. Apparently what happens is that during the learning process the new material comes to be connected to many of the cues in the situation...Thus every new response [for unimaginative student, at least] appears to be bound by the stimulus context in which it was acquired.'

That is to say, the generation of new images is to a certain extent restricted by the old images associated with the past learning experience.

However, images are not only related to the comprehension and storage of new items but also their retrieval. Stevick (1976:19) says, `In search for something in memory, then we start out with one piece of information, and use it to conjure up one or more images which contain it. We then examine those images until we find the piece of information that we were looking for.´ Referring again to the flashcard example, Stevick says, `if the test item is "the blow," we cast about for an image which contains that English expressions, plus their circumstance "studying for the German exam," plus something recognizable as a German word. If we are successful, we come up with "der Schlag" (Stevick 1976:19).´

Stevick´s sense of `**image**´ is, therefore, different from the way the term is ordinarily used in the following two ways (Stevick 1986:11):

1 Whereas `image´ is often used to mean something purely visual - something that can be seen or almost seen in the mind´s eye, Stevick uses the term to include not only what can be seen, but also what can be heard, felt, or otherwise experienced. Image is a result of the interaction between what we have in storage and what is going on at the moment. Moreover, this totality of reactions that one has to a given word or experience is present in many dimensions.

2 Instead of talking about `storing images´, Stevick thinks that it is more realistic to think of what is stored as `**items**´ i.e. `storing items.´ One of the advantages of this distinction

is that it is possible to explain partial errors in language learning. For example, in saying *by the end of the day* instead of *at the end of the day* the learner is partially right in the sense that five out of six of the `items´ are correctly recalled. Items also exist in many dimensions beyond the five senses.

Stevick is of the opinion that the items are tied to each other by a `**nexus**´, which has some sort of `neurochemical existence´. Moreover, in any real experience, every item has separate nexuses with many of the other items in that same experience, so that many, many nexuses are formed out of a relatively simple experience. A set of interlocking nexuses that share a number of items form a `**network**,´ which too has some sort of neurochemical reality.

Such being the case, the way associations work in human memory may be much more complicated than the retrieval of the German word `der Schlag´ as demonstrated above. The fact is, `each one [image] could be like a separate photograph, or phonograph record...Item A may bring up an image which contains Items A,B,C, and D. Of these, D may bring up another image consisting of D, E, and F. E may, in turn, bring back still another image, and so on (Stevick 1976:19).´ Stevick, however, is of the opinion that though these chains of assoications may run on freely, human beings can to some extent assume control over the chain and use it for their own purposes.

The generation of images, the storage of these images, or `items´ and their retrieval give rise to the following series of questions which are at the heart of vocabulary or chunk acquisition:

1 What is it that is stored ?

2 Can storage be enhanced ?

3 How is it possible to activate what has been stored for use?

These are questions that are inter-related and they will be looked at carefully in the following few sections.

10.4 Meaning and Cognition: Schemata

Following Stevick´s concept of `images´, as far as the learning of chunks is concerned, it is reasonable to assume that the `items´ stored at least include information of the following nature: phonological, orthographic, syntactic and semantic. This section will look specially at the storage of meaning, which is of particular relevance to the learning of chunks.

To begin with, it is important to recognize the close relationship between cognition and meaning. McCarthy (1990:46,47) is of the opinion that a description of word-meaning that takes into account only componential features or which only locates words in semantic fields is inadequate and that much of our knowledge of words is like the kinds of information found in encyclopaedias rather than dictionaries or

thesauruses i.e. **encyclopaedic knowledge**. Moreover, psycholinguists who work with the notion of *cognitive domains* distinguish between **basic domains** and **abstract domains**. McCarthy explains, `Basic domains are such universal and fundamental qualities as dimensions, including ideas such as time, pitch, and temperature, where abstract domains are **schematic representations** of particular entities.'

In brief, schemata are structured frameworks of knowledge, about the world and about language, in relation to which new information may or may not be perceived to make sense by the receiver. Indeed, according to Schema theory `words do not hold meaning inherently, but only through the access they afford to different stores of knowledge that allow us to make sense of them' (Langacker 1987:155).

McCarthy (1990:47) concludes, `The implication of this view is that language requires cognitive effort; it is all too easy to think that a dictionary or a brief explanation of a new word for a learner is sufficient for a decoding of its meaning; it has to be matched and integrated into the knowledge store and, above all, success in comprehension depends on activating the appropriate cognitive domains.' What is of particular importance to second language acquisition is that `the basic domains may well be universal, but schemata or abstract domains may differ from culture to culture (see Carrell and Eisterhold 1983).' That is to say, the schemata of the same vocabulary item in the L1 and the L2 may or may not be the same.

Similarly, based on John Anderson´s cognitive theory, O´Malley et al (1990:69) contend that information stored in memory has a meaning-based representation independent of a specific language and would be stored as `declarative knowledge´ through either `propositional networks´ or `schemata´. Moreover, they agree with Cummins´ (1984) proposal that what is originally learned through the L1 does not have to be relearned in the L2, but can be transferred and expressed through the medium of L2. L2 learners may be able to transfer what they already know from the L1 to the L2 by:

1 selecting the L2 as the language for expression

2 retrieving information originally stored through the L1 but currently existing as non-language-specific declarative knowledge i.e. language in contrast to learning strategies.

3 connecting the information to the L2 forms needed to express it.

However, O´Malley et al point out that L2 learners may find it difficult to understand a differing schema such as discourse schema, not because of language factors but because of cultural expectations. Another kind of schema which may cause difficulty is what Anderson describes as `social cognition´ (O´Malley et at 1990:70):

> `Persons organize their knowledge about individuals or groups according to certain perceived characteristics. This type of schematic organization of knowledge may lead to stereotyping because one person´s individual

knowledge about a group may rely on data limited to personal experience or biased information. The formation of stereotypes may also be culturally linked, so that the schemata developed to characterize a certain group through the L1 may not be relevant to characterize the same group through the L2. A stereotype transferred to a second language context may **interfere** with accurate communication in the L2.'

To summarize, in the learning of vocabulary or chunks, meaning may be the central `image' that the learners hold on to and the discussion above has shown that the cognitive representations of meaning include schemata which may be different in different cultures. On the other hand, the findings of second language acquisition research have indicated that learners do transfer their L1 knowledge for use in the L2 and the transfer of schema may cause interference.

10.5 Depth and Memory

Besides the concept of `images', another concept which is also essential in Stevick's discussion on memory is `depth'. Stevick's concept of `depth' is developed from Craik's idea of `cognitive depth.' Craik (1973:271) finds that there is a close relationship between cognitive depth and retention.

For example, in one experiment, each of the following five questions in the order hereunder required the subject to process the word to a greater `cognitive depth´ than the question that preceded it in the list.

1 Is there a word present?

2 Is the word printed in capitals, or in lower-case letters?

3 Does it rhyme with_____?

4 Is it a member of the _____category?

5 Does it fit into the following sentence?

As Stevick (1976:30) explains, `Craik defines "cognitive depth" in terms of the meaningfulness extracted from the stimulus (Craik 1973:49).´ Moreover, `in this experiemnt, *deep decisions required* some additional time, but they *led to dramatically better performance* both on a recognition task (Craik 1973:58) and on a recall task (Craik 1973:60).´

Based on the concept of `cognitive depth´, Craik distinguishes between two types of processing while an item is in Short-Term Memory. The first type of processing takes place when the subject merely repeats analyses that he has already carried out. The second type of processing occurs when the subject continues the processing of the stimulus on to a deeper level. Craik (1973:51-54) cites experimental evidence to support the idea that the latter increases Long-Term retention but the former does not.

Similarly, Oller (1971) has demonstrated that in a language-learning situation, sentences are easier to learn if the student meets them in a meaningful context. Stevick (1976:30) explains, `One reason for this may be that the meaningful context permits more complex processing.'

However, Stevick contends that in terms of language learning, memory is more than cognitive abilities. He removes `cognitive' from `cognitive depth' and extends the term `depth' to `**the entire personality of the learner**' i.e. the totality of the learner's response to the learning situation or to what is learnt.

According to Stevick, there are different levels of depth in a continuum. At one end of the continuum is `narrow-band cognitivism' and at the other hand `lie the connections with our plans, with our most important memories, and with our needs .....[which] include strong emotional or affective elements. The lowest reaches of this dimension are beyond our conscious awareness' (Stevick 1976:36).

As regards the response of the learners, Stevick is of the opinion that it can be as overt as Asher's Total Physical Response instruction to which the learner reacts with his whole body. However, the response can be less overt. It may be related to motives. As Klein (1956:175) says, `The perceptual system works as if it picks up a great deal, concerns itself with a little, and acts upon still less...Whatever is registered, even though "irrelevant" to conscious intention, may nevertheless

persist and retain independent status...Such peripheral registrations provide a source of discharge of active, though not dominant, motives, and...further, *coordination with fringe motives is perhaps what gives permanence or persistence to these perceptual registrations, i.e. creates memory residues.*'

Or, the response may be associated with basic drives: `More than 99% of the sensory information reaching the brain is quickly forgotten. The small fraction selected for retention is not passively recorded, but is grasped as an active process by the living organism because of its apparent relevance to the basic drives, for possible use at some future date' (Richter 1966:96).

More importantly, the response may be related to emotion: `What is important and emotionally charged tends to be more rapidly embedded than that which is emotionally neutral or unimportant' (Brierly 1966:34).

It may be interesting to mention in particular the experiment on the concept called `arousal' reported by Stevick . `In one key experiment, subjects tried to learn paired associates in which one member of each pair was a word, and the other was a number. Some of the words (e.g. *money, rape, slut)* were emotionally loaded, while others *(e.g. white, pond, betty)* were emotionally more neutral. Using a device that measures the electrical resistance of the skin, the investigators discovered that the emotionally loaded words produced a large change in skin resistance--certainly one kind of "physical response," even

though it is neither total nor conscious. The neutral words produced little or no change in skin resistance (Stevick 1976:39).'

The experiment above shows the obvious relationship between emotion and the response of the learner. But what is more amazing is the relationship between emotion and memory as demonstrated by the experiments conducted shortly afterwards. In brief, the subjects were divided into groups 1, 2 and 3, each of which was asked to look at the words and give the numbers that belonged with them `immediately', `20 minutes later' and `45 minutes later' respectively. The results are as follows (Stevick 1976:39):

(1) the `immediate recall' group did rather well on the low-arousal (emotional neutral) pairs, and very poorly on the high-arousal (emotional loaded) pairs.

(2) The `20 min delayed recall' group remembered both the high and low arousal pairs equally well; less well than the immediate recall group for the low-arousal pairs but better on the high-arousal pairs.

(3) The `45 min delayed recall' group gave a reverse result: they remembered the high-arousal pairs three times as well as the low-arousal pairs!

It is obvious from the findings of the above experiment that the low-arousal words are stored in Short-Term Memory while the high-arousal words are stored in Long-Term Memory. Since acquisition is associated with Long-Term Memory, whether words

can be acquired therefore depends very much on whether the learners are involved in the learning situation and how 'deep' their response is in the process of learning. The involvement of the learners is related to their motives, basic drives and emotion. It is these elements that enable what has been learnt to become acquired. In fact, the term 'network' mentioned earlier includes everything that contributes to the learning behavior of the learners including purposes and emotion as demonstrated above.

The concept of 'image' and 'depth' having been examined, the following will consider another aspect of memory which is also relevant to learning.

10.6 Organization and Memory

The storage and retrieval of vocabulary is not only related to 'image' and 'depth', but also associated with 'organization.' This section is aimed at examining how information is organized in the mental lexicon and the relationship between organization and storage and retrieval.

Aitchison (1989:14) is of the contention that 'humans know tens of thousands of words, most of which they can locate in a fraction of a second. Such huge numbers, and such efficiency in finding those required, suggest that these words are carefully organized, not just stacked in random heaps.'

In fact, Seamon (1980) defines organization in memory as `the reordering or restructuring of information from that which is originally presented.' His definition is based on experiments on recall. `Studies of free recall indicate that subjects cluster words that are associatively or categorically related even if such words were not presented together at list input. Lists of unrelated items show evidence of subjective organization since the same items are recalled in either temporal or spatial proximity. Studies of serial learning show comparable effects of experimenter-imposed and subjective organization in the patterns of recall.'

He comes to the conclusion that `organizational processes can facilitate memory performance by enhancing memory storage or retrieval'. However, he is careful to point out that `Since there is no way to assess storage independently of retrieval, questions about the locus of organization cannot be answered precisely. Organizational processes affect retrieval, but it is not known whether they affect storage as well (Seamon 1980:171-172).'

As far as vocabulary is concerned, it is generally assumed that organization in memory is related to sound, spelling and meaning. The discussion below will look at these aspects briefly with reference to findings of both L1 and L2 research into the mental lexicon.

With regard to the storage of sound, Aitchison (1987:118-127) investigates the sound structure of words in the mental lexicon and finds that `it seems that some parts of the words are more prominent in storage than others. They are, as it were, more deeply engraved in the mind. These are the sounds at the beginning and the end (the `bathtub effect´) and the general rhythmic pattern, which is inextricably linked with the sounds.´ She therefore suggests that `words are possibly clumped together in groups, with those having a similar beginning, similar ending and similar rhythmic pattern clustered together.´ Indeed, Channell (1988:89) reports that L2 learners experience the tip of the tongue phenomenon in the same way as L1 speakers. `In a well-known experiment (Brown and McNeill 1966) L1 speakers were asked for words to fit with definitions. Those who could not find any particular word, but had it `on the tip of their tongue´ were often able to supply correct information about such characeristics of the target word as first sound, number of syllables, and suffix. Teachers and learners will be aware of this in L2 production.´

As for the storage of spelling, McCarthy (1990:38) observes, `most adult native speakers could fairly quickly call up sets of words with similar spelling (e.g. words ending in `-ough), and people will intuitively answer questions, such as `how do you spell *honey*?´ with `like *money*´ (as opposed to `like *funny*´)--something of a feat if we remind ourselves that tens of thousands of items are held in store.´

In terms of the storage of word-meaning, evidence in L1 speech errors gives clues to semantic errors e.g. **blends** which are `nonexistent words which seem to consist of a mixture of sounds from two words which are close together in meaning, and which could both be appropriate in the given context' (Channell 1988:87):

ERROR	TARGET
sleast	slightest/least
minal	minor/trivial
dentars	dentals/velars

(Fromkin 1980)

As a matter of fact, word-association evidence has shown that words are organized into semantically related families in the mind. However, there is some fairly clear evidence that the lexical associations in the L1 speakers and the L2 learners are different in the sense that the relative stability of responses to many word association stimuli recorded for monolingual is not found in L2 learners (Meara 1982).

In any case, the discussion on the mental lexicon so far has given the expression that words are stored in the mind in a very complicated but **structured** manner. Indeed, Aitchison (1987:Chapter 7) concludes her investigation of the `human word-web' by saying that words seem to be organized in semantic fields, and that, within these fields, there are two types of link which seem to be particularly strong: connections between

co-ordinates (butterfly:moth) and collocational links (butterfly:net). Referring to the collocational links, Aitchison (1987:78) remarks:

> `These collocational links cover a wide spectrum. At one end of the range there are words which are optional, but commonly, associated: fresh-faced youths, buxom barmaids, rude adolescents, unruly hair. These frequent associations merge into habitual connections or cliches: agonizing decision, filthy lucre, bright and early, hale and hearty. Cliches overlap with idioms, phrases whose overall meaning cannot be predicted from the sum total of the individual words: keep tabs on, fall into place, call it a day.´

These collocational links suggest that chunks of the language such as collocations, cliches and idioms are stored as wholes in the mental lexicon, lending further support to the psychological reality of chunks as described in Chapter 2.

As regards the processing of idioms, Aitchison says, `Idioms appear to be treated by humans as if they were ordinary, single lexical items (Swinney and Cutler, 1979; Cutler, 1983; Gibbs and Gonzales, 1985). They cause no special processing difficulty, even though there are thousands of them - "Longman Dictionary of English Idioms" lists over 4,500.´

Similary, McCarthy (1990:44) observes, `Idioms and fixed phrases are decoded as "chunks" and not taken apart and analyzed. Experimentation has shown that a phrase such as `he was skating on thin ice´ will be interpreted idiomatically by native-speaker informants rather than analysed and interpreted literally (Gibb 1986).´ In relation to the retrieval process, McCarthy says, `Fixed phrases such as "how d´you do?" and "by and large" have unique retrieval paths taking us straight to the meaning of the multi-word unit..."by" "and" "large" each have their own individual catalogue references, and "by and large" as a unit also has its own unique catalogue reference.´

The above discussion, once again, gives support to Bolinger´s contention that the brain stores the parts and the whole (Chapter 2).

As it is still beyond the ability of human beings to know exactly what happens in the mind, researchers who work on the mental lexicon can only make `speculations´ from their findings. However, from the evidence of the frequency of chunks in language use (as demonstrated by the findings of the Mini Corpus analysis in Chapter 6) and, from the natural speed and ease with which they are used, it is reasonable to assume that chunks in the mind are stored and retrieved as wholes. Secondly, if psycholinguistic evidence from research into the mental lexicon has indicated that the storage of single-word lexical items may be organized according to sound patterns, spelling patterns and semantic

families, it is reasonable to assume that the storage of multi-word lexical items may also be related to more or less the same factors.

10.7 Implications for Teaching

The dimensions of `image´, `depth´ and `organization´ in Memory having been examined in detail, this may be an appropriate place to consider the implication of each of them for the teaching of chunks.

10.7.1 Images

The first set of implications is related to Images. In the earlier discussion, Images are viewed as the totality of reactions that one has to a given word and, moreover, things that are stored together tend to be recovered together. In terms of the teaching of chunks, the following points about Images and Memory can be made:

1. Since things that are learnt together tend to be recalled together, this implies that the learning of chunks may be as easy as the learning of single-word lexical items. For example, learning the delexical chunk `make an effort´ may be as easy as learning the single item `try´. In other words, instead of learning `make´ `a´ `speech´ as three separate words, the chunk `make a speech´ could easily be learnt as an integrated whole. It is because the learning of the three components in aggregate enables these three components to bring each other back together

e.g. `speech´ may bring back `a speech´, which in turn may bring back `make a speech´. It does not mean that nouns such as `speech´ are not to be learnt on their own but that while learning `speech´, the chunk `make a speech´ may be learnt at the same time. The argument is that when properly learnt, the whole chunk will be committed to memory and there is the possibility of its being retrieved as such.

2. As images are related to comprehension and storage, in order to make it easier to understand a new chunk, it may be useful to supply as much information as possible or to help the learners generate as many images as possible in respect of the new chunk. The fact is, the more information the learners have, the easier it is for them to understand the new item and commit it to memory. The information may be related to the pronunciation, spelling, meaning, the cultural aspect etc. of the chunk. Images may also be related to the various contexts in which the chunk is presented.

3. On the other hand, since things that are learnt together tend to be recalled together, it may also imply that learning a chunk in an L1 translation may be as useful as learning a chunk in a context e.g. a sentence. It is because there is the possibility that both the L1 translation or the context as provided by the sentence may be stored and recalled together. That is to say, both the conscious and the subconscious means of learning may be of equal importance.

4. Finally, since Images are connected with what is stored in the mind, in order to enable the learners to use what has been stored, classroom activities which can activate these images or the `items' stored will be helpful. It is because it is when these images are activated that what has been stored together with them i.e. the chunks can be retrieved.

10.7.2 Schemata

It has been pointed out that what is stored includes the cognitive representations of meaning i.e. schemata. Moreover, schemata may vary from cultures to cultures and findings of research in learning strategies have shown that learners do transfer their L1 schema for use in the L2. In terms of the teaching of chunks, the following points about Schemata and Memory can be made:

1. Chunks may consist of features from the basic domains and/or abstract domains i.e. schemata

2. Since new knowledge is most efficiently absorbed when it is assimilated to the already known, in the presentation of new chunks, it is important to make use of the experience of the learners, both linguistic and non-linguistic. Such experience will enhance both understanding and storage.

3. Since it is one of the strategies of second language learners to transfer their L1 knowledge for use in the L2, and since schemata may differ from culture to culture, the results

of transfer may be either positive or negative. It is therefore important for the teacher to be aware of the similarities and differences between the L1 and the L2 schemata associated with the new chunks and it is suggested that transfer should be encouraged when the L1 and L2 schemata are similar and discouraged when they are different. The disparities in schemata may be a matter of degree and the discussion of these disparities itself may enable the learners to generate more images which will in turn enhance comprehension and storage. For example, in the learning of the L2 chunk `make a speech´, the information concerning who makes a speech, where a speech is made, what a speech is about may enable the learners to compare their L1 schema of the same item with that of L2 and this makes it easier for them to understand properly the meaning of the L2 chunks and increases the possibility of their retaining it.

10.7.3 Depth

The third set of implications is related to Depth. It has been demonstrated that there is a close association between cognitive depth and retention. Moreover, the concept of depth has been extended to the entire personality of the learner and accordingly, the success in learning hinges on whether the learners are emotionally involved in the learning situation and how deep their responses in the process of learning. In terms of the teaching of chunks, the following points about Depth and Memory can be made:

1. Experiments by Craik (1973) and Oller (1971) have demonstrated clearly that what is learnt in a meaningful context permits more complex processing and increases long-term retention. Learning chunks in contexts, or more precisely, in as many contexts as possible, may provide the L2 learner with similar experience whereby a native speaker acquires his mother-tongue. As a matter of fact, it is the continuous exposure to the various contexts in which the chunks are used that native speakers of a language derive the various meanings of the chunks as well as acquire the knowledge to use them in appropriate situations. The implication for teaching is: the more frequent the learners encounter the L2 chunks in various contexts, the greater is their chance of acquiring them.

In fact, the contexts may be formal e.g. a list of sentences showing the various usages of the chunk or they may be informal e.g. the same chunk used in various reading passages. In this respect, methods such as Total Physical Response is particularly useful in teaching a certain kind of verb, and since verbs are so much at the heart of a language that when the verb+object or other combinations can be learnt as wholes, half the battle towards the grammar as well as the vocabulary is already happening.

2. In learning the meaning of a chunk in various contexts, it is important that the learner should at the same time learn how to use the chunk in contexts. The work of the Hong Kong learners has shown that even when the learners get the actual chunks right, they don't use them properly in sentences. This indicates

that the knowledge of using a chunk in a sentence grammatically is as important as the knowledge about the chunk itself. Moreover, as a fair number of chunks are related to discourse, the ability to use these chunks appropriately in various kinds of situations is also essential.

3. The use of contexts does not only help comprehension and storage but also retrieval and production as well. If the meanings of chunks are acquired in contexts resulting in the chunks and their context meanings being retained together in the memory of the learner, it is justifiable to assume that by activating the learner's need to express the same meanings conveyed by the chunks, the chunks will naturally be retrieved. One of the most effective means of activating the need for expression is communicative activities. The fact is, good communicative activities provide the opportunities for real language use and call up in the learner the desire to express himself and to find the right chunks for his expression. In brief, it may be said that good communicative activities increase the `depth' of the learning experience and enhance both the processes of storage and retrieval. Moreover, the more frequently the learners use the chunks they have learnt, the greater is the chance of long-term retention i.e. the possibility of the chunks being changed from passive to active vocabulary.

4. Stevick has made a strong case for the importance of emotional involvement and the commitment of the whole person in learning. It may be interesting to look at his idea of how the class should be operating (Stevick 1976:159):

(1) I hope to find the students involved in whatever they are doing, contributing to it and getting satisfaction from it on many levels of personality

(2) I hope to find the students comfortable and relaxed, even in the midst of intense intellectual activity or vigorous argument.

(3) I hope to find that the students are listening to one another, and not just to the teacher. I hope also that they will be getting help and correction from one another, and not just from the teacher

(4) The teacher is in general control of what is going on

(5) the teacher allows/encourages/requires originality from students, whether in individual sentence, or in larger units of activity, or in choice among a range of techniques.

(6) One of the first things I notice is whether the teacher seems relaxed and matter-of-fact in voice and in manner, giving information about the appropriateness or correctness of what the students do, rather than criticizing or praising them.

It is not surprising that Stevick favours teaching methods such as the Silent Way, Communicative Language Teaching and Suggestopedia. Indeed, Stevick (1976:42) reports that in Suggestopedia, `students learnt hundreds of words at a session, with little or no forgetting over long periods of time´. However, recent research which investigates the applicability of techniques adapted from Lozanov´s `Suggestopedia´ finds that

those taught by a traditional classroom method learned significantly more vocabulary than those taught by Superlearning techniques (Wagner & Tilney 1983).

Moreover, it should be pointed out that involvement can be a matter of degree and the way in which the `whole person´ should and could be involved depends very much on the learning style, the cultural background and the actual learning environment of the learner. That is to say, methodologies which can be applied successfully in one part of the world may not be applicable in other parts of the world for cultural, financial, administrative and many other reasons. Having said that, it is sensible to bear in mind that the needs and the interest of the learners should be taken into primary consideration irrespective of the kind of methods adopted.

10.7.4 Organization

The fourth set of implications is related to Organization. It has been suggested that organizational processes can facilitate Memory performance by enhancing storage or retrieval. Moreover, as far as vocabulary is concerned, findings of L1 and L2 research have indicated that Organization in Memory is related to the sound, spelling and meaning of the word. In terms of the acquisition of chunks, the following points about Organization and Memory can be made:

1. Given that words are possibly clumped together in groups (with those having a similar beginning, similar ending and similar rhythmic pattern clustered together) as Aitchison has suggested, McCarthy (1990:36) may be right in pointing out that they are important features `in terms of matching input to stored patterns and in retrieving specific items from such stored templates.´ This implies that in the presentation of chunks in the classroom, the language learner may benefit from crucial information about the pronunciation and stress of the chunks, which may assist the storage and memorization process.

2. As mentioned earlier, L2 association experiments have shown that the lexical association witnessed in L1 research is absent in the L2 learners. This may imply that the learning of chunks purely by translation may hinder the development of the internal organization of an efficient and separate L2 lexicon. This does not mean that the lexical association in the L2 lexicon in the mind of the learner and the mental lexicon of the native speaker of the L2 should be the same, it is just to say that lexical association and semantic association in whatever form are important as they may help organization in memory and retrieval.

As a matter of fact, a fair number of reference books on collocations, idioms etc. are written in line with the above principle. For example, Seidle et al (1988) organize idioms according to topics. Similarly, according to Wierzbicka (1986), the Explanatory Combinatory Dictionary of Modern Russian (Wien

1984) groups collocations according to their lexical functions. The following are some examples of the lexical functions reported by Martin (1984:132):

Magn: keen interest, wide awake, supremely confident

Opr : place orders, lodge complaints, score successes,
make predictions/observations/ proposals,
take step/ action/ refuse

Func: rumours circulate, situation prevails

In fact, the BBI Combinationary Dictionary of English (Benson et al 1986) also draws on the same principle. For example, the authors have identified the CA collocations (creation and/or activation e.g. compose music, fly a kite) and EN collocations (eradication and/or nullification e.g. reject an appeal, eliminate a competitor) of the V+N category .

The assumption that organization may enhance memory has also been adopted in the presentation of chunks in the classroom. For example, in considering the teaching of Phrasal Verbs, Side (1990) suggests that Phrasal Verbs should be presented both in context and in **groups** to facilitate memory. The grouping could be done according to the particle rather than the verb. e.g.

-belt up, shut up, clam up, hush up, dry up

-let up, ease up, pull up, draw up, give up

-fix up, square up, pal up, settle up

4 As a matter of fact, the grouping can be of various kinds. The following are some examples of possible grouping:

Chunks with a common component:

make it, take it, give it

Chunks belonging to the same topic:

grand slam, transfer fee, peak performance, head for relegation

(from McCarthy 1990:64)

Chunks with the name of a certain key word:

give/lend somebody a hand

take someone in hand

many hands make light work

Chunks with more or less the same meaning:

make one/s flesh creep/crawl

make one´s hair stand on end

In fact, it may be useful to ask the learners to keep note books for chunks in particular for consolidation purposes. For example, the learners may be encouraged to enter and classify the chunks they have learnt in their note books in whatever way they find most useful to them. At the end of the term, it may be interesting and inspiring for the teacher to examine how chunks are arranged in the note books of the learners. They may offer a more realistic reflection of the storage of chunks in the L2 mental lexicon of the learners!

5 Finally, one aspect that has not yet been mentioned so far in the discussion of Organization and Memory is the syntactic aspect, which is particularly important to the learning of chunks. Although chunks may be realized by various kinds of structures, which may be regular or irregular, it is reasonable to assume that information concerning the grammatical structures of chunks is one of the important information which may be stored in the process of learning. Indeed, the study of the delexical verbs `make´, `give´ and `take´ has revealed that quite a large number of the chunks of these verbs tend to be realized by some of the basic structures or patterns into which the verbs enter e.g.

make+N+of:

make a man of, make a habit of, make a mess of

give+N+to:

give credence to, give currency to, give place to

take+N:

take pains, take offence, take the initiative

Such being the case, it is suggested that in the presentation of new chunks, information concerning the grammatical patterns of the chunks should be highlighted as such information may facilitate storage and retrieval. If the spelling patterns of

words are related to organization and memory as it has been assumed, it is not far-fetched to assume that chunks of similar grammatical patterns may be stored quite near each other!

10.8 Summary

To prepare for the discussion of Memorization and the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation in the next Chapter, this chapter has made a very thorough examination of the role of Memory in vocabulary learning.

It has been suggested that there is a very close relationship between learning and Memory, in particular, the learning of vocabulary and chunks. Moreover, it is believed that both the conscious and subconscious processes of learning contribute to the acquisition of chunks. Two main dimensions of Memory have been considered in great detail: `Image´ and `Depth´. The former is related to what is stored in Long-Term Memory and the latter is related to how to make it easier for what has been stored in Short-Term Memory to enter Long-Term Memory. In the discussion of `image´, the essential role of `schemata´ and their relevance to the learning of chunks has also been pointed out and in the discussion of `depth´, the importance of both the cognitive and personal involvement of the learner has been investigated. In addition, the relationship between `Organization´ and Memory has also been considered. Finally, the implications of these various aspects of Memory for the learning of chunks have also been discussed systematically and in great detail.

The discussion of the relationship between Memory and `Image´ `Depth´ and `Organization´ has certainly shed light on the learning and teaching of chunks in general. However, since it is the Hong Kong learners that are the primary concern of the researcher, and since there is the urgent need to look for methodologies that will facilitate the learning of hundreds of thousands of chunks of the target language, the next chapter will concentrate on an aspect of Memory which has not yet been discussed in this chapter but which, it is believed, is particularly relevant to the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation i.e. Memorization.

Chapter 11

Memorization and the Learning of Chunks

11.1 Introduction

This section is devoted in particular to the role of Memorization in the learning of chunks with special reference to the learning style of the Hong Kong learners.

As said in the last chapter, this thesis takes the position that both the conscious and the subconscious processes of learning contribute to the acquisition of chunks.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that the criticism that has been made of memorization is not so much of learning by rote as of the lack of communicative activities to enable what has been learnt by rote to become acquired by using it in appropriate contexts. That is to say, what has been memorized may become acquired.

Furthermore, in the attempt to look for effective methods of learning a second language, it is deemed sensible to take into consideration the historical and cultural background and the learning style of the learners because learning an L2 is different from learning an L1 in the sense that the L2 learners have already had the experience of learning their first language and it is believed that this experience, when used appropriately, may benefit the learning of the target language. This chapter

will therefore begin by considering briefly the place of English and English teaching in Hong Kong as well as the attitude of the learners towards the English language.

11.2 The Status of English in Hong Kong

Fan (1988) has a very thorough discussion of the status of the English language and the learning environment in Hong Kong. In brief, Hong Kong is a British colony with a population of about 6 million 97% of which are Chinese who speak Cantonese, a southern Chinese dialect and who write in Mandarin, which is both the spoken and written language in Mainland China. That is to say, the Chinese in Hong Kong speak in Cantonese and write in Mandarin. However, it was not until 1979 that the Chinese language has been recognized by the Colonial Government as an official language in Hong Kong in addition to the English language (Fan 88:4).

Irrespective of the fact that the Chinese language (i.e. spoken Cantonese plus written Mandarin) is used in the daily life of the Chinese community, the English language is used in the Government, the commercial sector as well as higher education and it has also been adopted as the medium of teaching in a majority of the secondary schools in Hong Kong for all school subjects except the Chinese Language and Chinese History. (In reality, a mixture of Cantonese and English is commonly used in the Hong Kong classroom for the reason that students find it easier to learn in their mother-tongue and that most of the

teachers who teach those subjects other than the English language do not feel comfortable using the English language in teaching (Fan 88:31).

So, the English language may be regarded as both a foreign and a second language in Hong Kong. It is a foreign language in the sense that people operate well in their daily life without it and it is a second language in that authentic teaching materials do not have to be imported from elsewhere as there are English TV and radio programmes as well as English newspapers in addition to the Chinese counterparts. This implies that the English media may be a very useful source of teaching material when used appropriately.

11.3 Attitude towards the English Language

Though most Hong Kong learners do not need English in their daily life, they know that if they do well in English, they can have a better future i.e. they will be able to get better jobs or admission to higher education either at home or abroad. The Hong Kong learners' attitude towards English can therefore be described as an `instrumental' one.

In fact, a number of studies on the attitudes of the Hong Kong learners to the Chinese and English languages have confirmed this. For example, Lyczak, Fu and Ho (1976) find that Chinese is associated with positive affect and solidarity, while English is associated with prestige and competence. Their results are confirmed by Gibbons (1983). On the other hand, Gibbons

(1984) discusses the English proficiency profile in Hong Kong. He applies Schumann´ acculturation model to the Hong Kong situation and has come to the following conclusion: `The (justifiable) resistance to acculturation and consequent lack of integrative motivation among much of the population allied to very limited opportunity for direct social contact with English native speakers will probably impede English language learning in the foreseeable future.´

However, a recent study by Yu & Atkinson (1988) reports a more favourable attitude towards English. For example, in the study the subjects strongly agreed to statements such as

`It is useful to learn English because it is the most common language in the world´,

`It is still useful to learn English even if Hong Kong is not a colony´

Moreover, in the same study, the girls have been found to have greater interest in learning English than the boys.

Generally speaking, most Chinese in Hong Kong are proud of their culture and their country though it does not necessarily mean that they agree entirely with the Communist Government and the recent events in Peking. The recent change in attitude towards the English language among the learners as demonstrated in the above study may be explained by the subtle change from

the learning of English as a language imposed by the Colonial government and therefore associated with colonialism to learning English as a foreign language.

As the attitude of the learner may play an important role in determining how ready he is to learn the background embodied in the culture of the L2, it is of particular relevance to the learning of the chunks of the language. That fact is, a considerable number of chunks are related to the culture of the L2 and in the teaching of these chunks, it is sometimes necessary to introduce and explain the culture of the L2 and the social and cultural life of the L2 speakers, which, when handled properly, will enable the learners to have a better understanding of the L2 culture and its people. More importantly, as pointed out in the discussion of meaning and schemata, different cultures may have different schemata and appropriate discussion of the L2 culture may enhance the comprehension of chunks and reduce errors of negative transfer i.e. L1 interference. Moreover, discussion of such nature may provide a lot of enjoyable experience in the classroom when it is handled appropriately (Remedios Ruiz Ruiz 1989).

11.4 Learning Style of the Hong Kong Learners

Taylor (1987:21) summarizes nicely the learning atmosphere in Hong Kong classrooms, `The classroom atmosphere in Hong Kong schools is generally agreed to be very formal, and even in kindergartens children are seated formally.'

Such a formal learning atmosphere is mainly due to the traditional Chinese respect for teachers. Chann (1976) rightly points out that `the traditional value of respect due to seniors and, by extensions, honour to teachers, continues to have an influence in the teacher-pupil relationship (Chann:1976).'

As far as learning is concerned, Taylor rightly observes the following phenomenon, `Learning is also highly disciplined with an emphasis on repetition and rote.'

Similarly, in his article on teaching in China, Marley observes that `Chinese students and foreign teachers rarely share the same views on the nature of the teaching process.' Marley outlines how memory-based learning is most widely accepted and, even today is regarded as the most effective, if not the only, method of learning (Maclennan 1988).

Based on Marley's experience in China, Maclennan (1988:61-74) conducted an investigation in Hong Kong and she has come to the following conclusion:

> `It appears likely that a discrepancy does exist between the preconceptions and expectations which Hong Kong and Macau students bring to the classroom, and the view of the teaching-learning situation held by teachers using a communicative language approach. The set of expectations students have of teachers, it was hypothesised, would not reflect much understanding of current TEFL theories or practices, but would be based on a mixture of

attitudes to education which students have absorbed from their parents, their own past classroom experience, popular social attitudes to the teacher´s role generated by the media, along with their current subjective attitude and emotions.´

The preference of the Chinese learners for a memory-based learning is, in fact, deeply rooted in the traditional Chinese concept of education.

11.4.1 The Chinese Concept of an Educated Man

To begin with, it may be interesting to know how the ancient Chinese defined an `educated man´. One of the attributes an educated man had to possess was `extensive information and a good memory´. In fact, this learning tradition was reinforced by the examination system introduced in the Han Dynasty (178 B.C.). It has been widely accepted by historians that China was the first country in the world to recruit high-ranking government officials by way of public examinations (Jor & Chen 1989, Gin 1990). All civilians were allowed to take part in these examinations irrespective of their family background. The point is, in the examination, candidates were tested about their knowledge of the prescribed works in literature i.e. the Four Books. So, Chinese scholars were trained to commit all the information to memory in order to achieve success in the public examination.

As a matter of fact, a good memory was not only related to success in examinations and job opportunity in the Empire it was also closely related to social life as well. As Confucius 552-478 B.C.) says, `Communication with others can hardly be possible without any reference to poetry.' This means that poetic works have to be committed to memory and quoted in appropriate situations.

It is therefore not difficult to understand that the concept of memorization i.e. **learning facts thoroughly to remember them well and be able to use them appropriately** - has been applied not only to the learning of the Chinese language and Literature but also to other subjects in school as well. Take the primary schools of Hong Kong for example. It is an extremely common practice that children are expected to memorize facts on most subjects. These include the answers to comprehesion questions at the end of each lesson, the multiplication table, or even the whole lesson on Chinese, English, Science, Home Economics etc.

11.4.2 The Chinese Script

One very important fact which may be easily overlooked is the relationship between the Chinese Script and Memorization. In fact, it may be said that the skill of Memorization begins when the Chinese children are trained to read and write. This is due to the unique nature of the Chinese writing system, some of whose features are described hereunder.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that the knowledge of written Chinese is considered to be very important among the Chinese people as it is the primary unifying bond among the countless groups of dialect speakers in China including the Cantonese speakers of Hong Kong. Secondly, the written form of Chinese is very different in appearance and in its written construction from languages which are made up of the alphabet. Chinese writing is generally described as `pictorial writing' with characters composed of separate horizontal, vertical and slanting strokes and bending hooks. Though Chinese characters have a slight pictorial or phonetic element, there is no way for a child to figure out the sound of a word and associate the sound with the meaning. (Children whose languages are made up of the alphabet may be able to read by trying to pronounce a word and associate the sound to the meaning of the word used by the adults around him or by the child himself in his own speech.) Accordingly, the written construction of each and every Chinese character has to be committed to memory. Thirdly, in order to have the ability to read and write, Chinese children have to learn a large number of Chinese characters by heart. While the entire English alphabet consists of 26 letters and the spelling of all words are based on these 26 letters, the Chinese language has over 10,000 characters and about 7,000 of them are in general use.

School children learn the written form of Chinese characters by writing them repeatedly. For example, it is a usual practice that they are asked to write the newly learnt Chinese characters 100 times each as homework, which is given nearly

every day in addition to the other assignments. (Exercise books with 100 squares on each page for this special purpose are available in both the shops in schools or in the market.) Children in the kindergarten are no exceptions. Their first experience of homework is usually the writing of the Chinese characters. The primary objective is that children at the age of about eleven or twelve are expected to have memorized about 3000 Chinese characters. It is therefore reasonable to assume that by the time a child knows how to read and write basic Chinese, he has already developed a good memory.

11.4.3 Chunking and Memorization

A closer examination of the way children learn the Chinese script and the Chinese language reveals that they do so by chunking.

As Zhang and Simon (1985:193) describe, `while written English has four principal structural levels (letter, word, phrase, and sentence), Chinese has at least five (radical, character, word, phrase, and sentence).´ That is to say, a Chinese sentence is made up of phrases, phrases are made up of words, words are made up of characters and characters made up of radicals. Consider the following:

Radicals	（ナ） （又）
Character	（友）
Word	（友誼）: FRIENDSHIP
Idiomatic Phrase	（友誼萬歲）: EVERLASTING FRIENDSHIP

The above examples display the following:

1 In order to learn the character (友), two radicals i.e.(ナ) and (又) have to be committed to memory simultaneously.

2 In order to learn the word (友誼), two characters have to be remembered together i.e. (友) and (誼), each of which is also made up of two radicals.

3 In order to learn the idiomatic combination (友誼萬歲) two words i.e. (友誼) and (萬歲), each of which is also made up of two characters, have to be learnt as an integrated whole.

It can therefore be said that children learn the Chinese script and the Chinese language by making use of the memorization skill of `chunking.'. In fact, this skill is well-documented in the literature on Memory (Miller 1956, Simon 1974, Stevick 1976, Seamon 1980), and as it has already been reported in the discussion of the psycholinguistic status of prefabs in Chapter Two, it need not be repeated here. The Chinese children may not be aware of this skill of memorization but they are actually practising it every day in school.

The skill of memorization by chunking is particularly important where there is not any association between the meanings of the parts and the whole as far as the construction of the Chinese script is concerned. For example, the Chinese noun (頭 :head) is made up of the part (豆 :bean) [which is both a radical and a character] and the part (頁 :page) [which is

both a radical and a character], the meanings of both of which have nothing to do whatsoever with the meaning of the noun `head.´

For another example, the Chinese verb (贏 :win) is made up of 5 separate parts:(亡), (口), (月), (女) and (凡) with the respective meanings (die),(mouth),(moon),(girl) and (ordinary) none of which is associated with the meaning of the whole i.e. `win´ in any way.

The skill of memorization by chunking is more obvious in the learning of two-character words which are dominant in the Chinese language. Some examples:

(火箭) [=rocket] (火 :fire) + (箭 :arrow)

(电脑) [=computer] (电 :electricity) + (脑 :brain)

(出口) [=export] (出 :out) + (口 :mouth)

It may also be relevant to mention here that the quantifier, which is one of the distinguishing features of the Chinese language needs also to be memorized in chunks. For example,

a *tail* of fish	a *flock* of sheep
a *head* of dog	a *volume* of book
an *item* of watch	a *piece* of paper

In fact, the Chiense learners´ skill of learning the vocabulary of their language by chunking has also been observed by Meara (1984:234) in a discussion of how Chinese learners handle words, `They [Chinese learners] seem to pay more attention

to the ends of words than native English speakers do, which suggests that they have to construct words out of their parts instead of using sequential redundancies to enable them to read words as wholes.' What Meara fails to note is that this word recognition strategy of the Chiense learners stems from the learning of the Chinese language.

11.4.4 The Chinese Language and Chunks

In learning their first language, the Chinese learners not only learn by chunking, but also learn to use chunks in sentences or discourse, which may be regarded as a more complicated type of chunking as well.

The fact is, Chinese children have to learn hundreds of thousands of L1 chunks before they can communicate effectively and appropriately. This is because China is a country with more than three thousand years of written history which has provided its people with an extremely rich treasure of cultural heritage. It is well known that the Chinese literature is full of a wide variety of idiomatic expresssions. Indeed, these idiomatic expressions had their origin in the early history of China. In his translation of 700 Chinese proverbs, Hart (1954:ix) finds that `an inscription on the washbasin of T'ang, founder of the Shang Dynasty (1766-1122 BC), appears to be a proverb, and indicates that such sayings were in existence long before the days of Confucius.'

Hart also comments on the quantity of Chinese proverbs, `Scarborough, in his study of Chinese proverbs, notes that there are as many proverbs current in China as in the whole of Europe - over 20,000 according to his European authority, Disraeli. I believe his estimate of the number of Chinese proverbs to be conservative.'

As a matter of fact, the expressions that make up the bulk of Chinese phraseology derive their origin from the life, history and legends of the people. In his collection of Chinese idioms, Chiang (1973) remarks, `Without some knowledge of Chinese metaphorical phraseology, one can never attain an accurate appreciation of the spirit of the language and the mode of thought of the Chinese people'.

Indeed, idiomatic expressions have acquired such a universal usage and importance that they form the backbone of the language. No book, no newspaper, no conversation in Chinese is entirely short of the use of these expressions. So, in order to read with any degree of comprehension and to speak and write acceptably, the Chinese children have to know and learn how to use a huge number of chunks of their L1. Some examples of chunks used in the daily speech of the Chinese people:

(膚淺) : [skin deep]:
superficial
(一針見血) : [needle once and see blood]:
hit the nail on the head
(尋根究底) : [look for the origin and get to the foundation]:

get to the heart of the matter

(不期而遇) : [no date and meet]:

to meet without prior arrangement

(人生如夢) : [life is like a dream]:

life is short: dreams leave with no traces when one wakes up i.e. dreams are easily forgotten, as one's life is.

(佳偶天成) : [a good match heaven fixes]

good marriages are fixed by heaven

(福如東海, 壽比南山):[May your happiness be like the Eastern seas and your age be like the Southern hills]: Many happy returns of the day

(家有一老
如有一宝) :If a family has an old person in it, it possesses a jewel

(酒逢知己千杯少, 话不投机半句多):If you drink with a friend, a thousand cups are too few; if you argue with a man, half a sentence is too much

These examples of chunks are frequently encountered in the speech or writing of Chinese people, heard over radio and television, and read in newspapers. To be able to communicate with their fellow-people, the Chinese have to know countless number of these chunks and acquire the ability to chunk them up in sentences and discourse.

The discussion so far has demonstrated how the learning style of the Chinese learners, a preference for learning by memorization, is deeply rooted in the culture, traditional concept of education, the language and the literature of the

Chinese people. In brief, in learning their L1, the Chinese learners of Hong Kong have already acquired the skill of memorization by chunking as well as learning by heart hundreds of thousands of chunks in this process. Moreover, this learning skill has been proved to be useful to a majority of the Chinese as most of them master their first language successfully.

The implication of this skill of memorization by chunking for the learning of L2 chunks is rather obvious. For example, instead of learning three separate parts `make´ `a´ `speech´, the Hong Kong learners may **easily** learn the delexical chunk `make a speech´ as a whole by applying the same skill they have used in learning their first language. The Chinese learners may find it reasonably easy to learn in this way because this skill is not a new skill to them and therefore does not require any extra effort in using it. On the contrary, it is a skill that has frequently been practised and virtually mastered in the learning of their first language. In fact, it is on the basis of this fact that though chunks are realized by various structures some of which are more `productive´ than the others i.e. creative in the Chomskyan sense, it is suggested that except for the `free combinations´, chunks should best be learnt as wholes irrespective of whether they are Loose Chunks, Restricted Chunks or Fixed Chunks.

The next question is: Can L1 strategies or skill be transferred to the learning of L2? The discussion of meaning and schemata in the preceding chapter has indicated that learners do

transfer their L1 knowledge for use in the L2 but the following section will look at the issue of the transfer of learning strategies in particular.

11.5 The Transfer of Learning Strategies

The transfer of learning strategies from L1 to L2 is supported by O´Malley & Chamot (1990) who research into learning strategies within the framework of cognitive theory based on John Anderson´s model, which has been mentioned earlier. In brief, the theory suggests that `information is stored as either declarative knowledge (what we know) [including schemata] or procedural knowledge (what we know how to do), which includes complex cognitive skills.´ Moreover, learning a second language is seen as parallel to learning other complex cognitive skills. In terms of vocabulary learning, `vocabulary knowledge´ is regarded as a kind of declarative knowledge and `vocabulary learning strategy´ a kind of procedural knowledge.

According to O´Malley & Chamot (1990:215), learning complex cognitive skills can be effective under either of the following two conditions:

(1) when there are repeated opportunities for practice with cued feedback (the low road to learning), and

(2) when the learner transfers and abstracts principles from a similar task to guide in acquisition of the new skill (the high road).

O´Malley and Chamot marshall evidence from research into first and second language acqusition as well as foreign language acquisition to show that both (1) and (2) above i.e. `practice´ and `transfer´ can be applied to ***both*** language i.e. declarative knowledge **and** learning strategies i.e. procedural knowledge at the same time.

With regard to the transfer of learning strategies, O´Malley & Chamot note in particular the influence of cultural background on the learning strategies of second language learners.

> `In the second language learning arena, cultural background can be expected to play a part in both identifying the set of learning strategies students bring to a task and the ease or difficulty with which new strategies that can be trained (O´Malley and Chamot 1990:164).´

They observe that part of the cultural background of students is their **prior educational experiences**.

> `For example, students whose initial educational training emphasized rote memorization of curriculum content may have developed quite effective memory strategies but be rather inexperienced with comprehension or problem-solving strategies (O´Malley and Chamot 1990:165).´

In fact, in their prior research (O'Malley et al. 1985b) they found `resistance from Asian students to using strategies for imagery and grouping to learn vocabulary definitions. Moreover, Asian students in the control group applied rote memorization strategies to the vocabulary task so successfully that they outperformed the experimental groups who had been trained in what we perceived as more sophisticated strategies (O'Malley & Chamot 1990:163)' It is therefore suggested that `strategies learned with tasks in the student's first language may be transferred via the high road to similar tasks in the student's second language. That is, students who have had prior experience in using learning strategies in their first language may learn to apply them with second language tasks through extension of the principle guiding their use and not require extensive cued repetitions with the new task (O'Malley & Chamot 1990:215-216).' However it is also considered necessary to teach learners new strategies, including those not related to the learner's culture.

The fact that cultural background and prior learning experience to a considerable extent predispose the learning strategies of second language learners has also been evidenced by research into vocabulary retention. Cohen & Aphek's experiment, which has originally been designed to find out whether previously-formed or new associations facilitate recall of vocabulary, reports `a subgroup of students who learned some words without association recalled these words as well as words that they did find associations for'. The researchers therefore

conclude, `the question was left open as to the type of learner who benefits from learning vocabulary through association (Cohen and Aphek 1980:221).'

The above research implies that both the use of images for memory and rote memorization may be very useful ways of learning vocabulary, depending on who the learners are and their cultural background as well as their prior education training.

The general worry about learning by memorization has been that words which are memorized may not be retained long or may not be used by the learners. However, as McCarthy (1990:36) says, `Research is frustratingly inconclusive as to whether presenting and learning words in context is superior to learning words by pairs of translation equivalent (Carter and McCarthy 1988:15).'

In fact, according to Carter (1987:153), `relevant research (e.g. Kellogg and How, 1971) suggests that such procedures [learning by Memorization] are usefully complementary.' Similarly, according to Nation (1983:Chapter 9), learners learn and retain a large number of words by repetition. `For example, research by Crothers and Suppes (1967) revealed that seven repetitions were sufficient for learner to master 108 new Russian-English word pairs and that 80 per cent of a further 216 word pairs were learned by most of the control group of learners after only six repetitions.' Carter concludes that `it may be dangerous to underestimate such a capacity.'

11.6 Conclusion

The discussion of the preceding and this chapter is based on the assumption that both the conscious and subconscious processes of learning contribute to the acquisition of chunks. Moreover, it is believed that in looking for effective ways of teaching chunks, it is meaningful and sensible to take also into account the traditional learning style of the Hong Kong learners.

This chapter has shown that in learning the Chinese script and the Chinese Language and Literature, the learners have developed a skill of memorization by chunking and a good memory for chunks. Moreover, rote learning has not only been proved to be useful in the learning of Chinese among the Chinese people, in fact, findings of L2 research have shown that learning by memorization is also one of the effective ways of learning vocabulary. It is therefore suggested that this learning tradition, which originated a few thousand years ago and has been passed from generation to generation and which is still highly respected among the Chinese, should also be encouraged in the learning of L2 chunks.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, rote-memoriation has been criticized for the danger of learning in a mechanical way without understanding and therefore associated with it the failure of retention and the inability to use what has been remembered. However, it should be pointed out that the memorization of chunks may also be related to the more dynamic aspect of Memory such as `images´. For example, any

information concerning the sound, spelling and meaning (both semantic and cultural) of the chunks when they are newly introduced to the learners may be helpful to the process of memorization. The fact is, even a translation in Chinese may generate `images´ as individuals may have very different ways of memorizing things. Moreover, what has been memorized can be contextualized and good communicative activities may be very helpful for this purpose.

Conclusively, in terms of the learning of chunks in the Hong Kong situation, the position taken by the researcher is that it is not reasonable to reject indiscriminately the findings of the research on language learning conducted in the West in the past twenty years or to dismiss out of hand the noble Chinese tradition of learning which has been so deeply rooted in the life and culture of the Chinese people. On the contrary, both the Western and the Chinese traditions should be considered together side by side. And, more importantly, it is the responsibility of the teachers of Hong Kong to make the best marriage out of them. In other words, we suggest the adoptation of a `mixed´ methodology which takes into account both Memorization and the more dynamic aspects of Memory. It is in this way that the needs of the learning style of the Chinese learners are taken care of and the findings of research into vocabulary learning made use of in the learning and teaching of the chunks of the English language in Hong Kong.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to look at language from an idiomatic point of view. This investigation has demonstrated that the rigid distinction often made between syntax and morphology is a false and unrealistic one. Not only is this division often not clearcut but the degree of cohesion between words into groups smaller than a sentence is on a cline between very loose indeed and very strong. If it is recognized that there are different degrees of cohesion between words within a group, it becomes apparent that the basic units of vocabulary are not only words but also entities larger than words such as collocations, idioms, fixed expressions in discourse etc.

This view of the language casts doubt upon the traditional approach to vocabulary teaching which focuses exclusively on the teaching of single-word lexical items and ignores the units of vocabulary larger than words. It can be said for sure that this traditional approach to vocabulary teaching is based on sound semantic theories such as those emphasizing the sense relations between words and which are supported by related psycholinguistic experiments, for example, word association tests. It is, however, believed that from a pedagogic perspective, the linguistic assumption of how the vocabulary of the language is structured is less important than how the language is actually used by its speakers.

In fact, the linguistic analysis has shown that a typical delexical English verb like `make´ enters into a great number of what I have chosen to call `chunks´. This fact has been confirmed by the findings of the analysis of the Mini Corpus, which contains the most up-to-date and natural examples of the speech and writing of the speakers of the language. The findings have revealed that more than half of the usages of the verb are in chunk form and more significantly, 78% of the chunks have been found to be delexical chunks, a typical type of chunk of the delexical verb category. These findings have established the fact that chunks are an important feature of the English language which should be very carefully considered when it comes to teaching.

It has also been suggested that it may be more appropriate to look at chunks in a continuum with those which are relatively free at one end and those which are entirely fixed at the other end. This imples that there may be fuzzy edges between chunks and non-chunks of the language but from a teaching perspective, this is less important than whether chunks are stored in the memory as wholes and can be retrieved as such. Indeed, the examination of the psycholinguistic aspect of chunks has shown the important role of chunks in respect of the limited human processing capacity and the storage of chunks as wholes in memory.

Moreover, the linguistic and corpus analyses of the verb `make´ have revealed not only the `chunky´ aspect of the language but also the delicate role inextricably played by syntax, semantics and lexis in actual language use. This has

implications for the teaching of the language in general and the teaching of vocabulary in particular. Since the three above mentioned elements are so closely inter-related to each other in the language, it may be a mistake to consider the teaching of grammar merely as the teaching of grammatical patterns without drawing the learners' attention to the meaning usually conveyed by these patterns and the vocabulary habitually used with them. Similarly, in the teaching of the vocabulary of the language, due respect should also be given to grammar and/or other aspects of the language. In fact, the investigation into syntagmatic relations has shown that not only lexis but also syntax, semantics and other factors are involved in the collocations of words.

On the other hand, the examination of the British and Hong Kong essays has confirmed the hypothesis that the British learners would use the delexical verbs under study more grammatically, more in chunk form and much more delexically. In fact, the differencecs in the usage of delexical chunks between the two groups have been found to be statistically significant. These findings have been confirmed by a further test for Hong Kong learners, and the results thereof have also indicated some of the learning difficulties involved e.g. L1 interference, a lack of knowledge of L2 chunks etc.

All these findings point to an urgent need to look for effective ways of learning these hundreds of thousands of chunks of the target language, which is the main concern of the thesis.

Generally speaking, approaches to second/foreign language learning have largely been influenced by the findings of research in L1 acquisition. It is widely accepted on good grounds that a child, aided by an innate `language acquisition device´, which is now interpreted as the Universal Grammar, acquires his L1 speedily and subconsciously. Furthermore, it is assumed that a second language learner may acquire the L2 in more or less the same way if the classroom is able to provide an environment similar to that of the natural language environment. That is to say, the learners may learn the L2 through the need for its use. This, in reality, is the rationale behind most communicative methodologies.

While it is justifiable to believe that the more opportunities the learners have in using the language, the greater is their chance of mastering it, there are, however, facts concerning language learning that one has to be realistic about. For example, there may be a huge difference between those learning situations where the L2 is used outside the classroom and those where the L2 is not. In addition, the language distance between the L1 and the L2 may be closely related to the learning difficulty involved. Of equal importance is the fact that different aspects of the langauge may call for different ways of learning as well as teaching. For instance, the learning of the relatively `stable´ aspect of the language such as chunks may not be entirely the same as the learning of the more creative aspects of the language. In looking for more effective ways of teaching a foreign/second language, it is therefore sensible to

take into account both the conscious and the subconscious aspects of learning and more significantly, the actual needs of the learners.

It is obvious that the distance between the Chinese and the English languages is tremendous. Indeed, the brief examination of the Hong Kong situation has shown that though Hong Kong is generally considered as a cosmopolitan city, in actual fact, the English language has merely attained the status of a foreign language rather than a second language. Furthermore, the investigation into the Chinese traditional concept of education and the Chinese language and literature has demonstrated that `memorization´, a conscious process of learning, is deep-rooted in the culture of the Chinese people. It is therefore suggested that it may be profitable to encourage the learners to transfer their L1 learning strategy to the learning of the chunks of the L2. The point is, when one considers the sophisticated process whereby the learners of the Chinese script and language learn not only the individual characters but their combinations in words and their integration into idioms and so ultimately into sentences, the learning of lists of single English vocabulary items seems primitive and lacking in integration. Moreover, the examination of research into second language learning strategies has shown that learners do use their L1 learning strategies in the learning of the L2, which, in many cases, have been proved to be successful.

In looking for a more effective way of learning the chunks of the language, the answer therefore seems to lie not so much in the disregard of a long-standing tradition of learning but the change of the size of the units in the learning of the L2 and subsequently the use of innovative methods to integrate these units into the learner's active language.

In fact, in order to put memorization in its proper perspective, it is considered as an aspect of Memory, which has been looked into very carefully in the thesis. The investigation has demonstrated how the various dimensions of Memory such as `images' and `depth' are particularly relevant to vocabulary learning. For example, communicative activities in the classroom which have been successful in getting the learners involved in the learning process may probably enhance the comprehension, storage and retrieval of chunks. So, in arguing for a more flexible interpretation of the Communicative Approach in the Hong Kong milieu, we do not deny the contribution of communicative methodologies to language teaching but rather we want to point out the need to take into serious consideration the traditional learning style of the learners while implementing these methodologies. That is to say, in the teaching of chunks, due place should be given to both the conscious and subconscious processes of learning. Future study may attempt to investigate how this approach can be integrated into the various kinds of methodologies based on different teaching theories.

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TEXT BOUND INTO

THE SPINE

GW0117	OT	BR	ut the simple life and the true values, that just	makes	me laugh when the [illegible] stand outside [illegible]
GW0117	OT	BR	my back, to get herself in with him, that's what	makes	me sick. I'm smoking too much,' she added, a
GW0117	OT	BR	alks to me. You think I mind? Not a bit. She just	makes	me so mad I could scream.' 'No please don't
GW0117	OT	BR	ll is your Guppy. Honestly, Etta, the whole thing	makes	me laugh, that's all.' And Judy did laugh, l
GW0119	BR	BR	people might,' says Howard, "Henry wouldn't.' "It	makes	me so depressed, I can't tell you. I want to
GW0152	AM	AM	nked across the sky, heading south. "This prairie	makes	me feel sick,' says Barbara. "Henry already
GW0069	BR	BR	l advised to abandon the fruitless quest for what	makes	me sad," Ken said softly. I felt it too. Tha
GW0078	OT	BR	eeds to be said and the question as to whether it	makes	men tick and get on with the job in hand --a
GW0044	BR	BR	wo and a half per cent. It is the bad money which	makes	men better citizens is irrelevant. If it wer
GS0122	BR	BR	ubber and it's a steel milling area - and it also	makes	men leave the land; they are quite proud enc
GW0031	AM	BR	s is that technology feeds on itself. Technoi ogy	makes	mining equipment - so let's repeat those ag
GW0032	AM	BR	reason that made him such a fanatic teacher. That	makes	more technology possible, as we can see if w
GW0033	BR	BR	continues in simple forms to this day. An amoeba	makes	more sense. And it makes a lot of sense out
GW0003	BR	BR	HING and what to put in it Filing is a word that	makes	more amoebas by splitting interminably into
GW0034	BR	BR	p these contributions that matters. The mind that	makes	most women look mutinous, but it's not only
GW0059	AM	AM	who make parts for torque con- verters. The group	makes	most of the opportunities offered by chance
GW0006	AM	BR	ut how complicated our civilization is and how it	makes	most of the de- <P 35> cisions on how their
GW0027	BR	BR	ogether. Oh dear, thought Mrs Oliver, this really	makes	mothers too tense to feed. There's no doubt
GW0076	BR	BR	t nothing to do with anyone. Who can blame us? It	makes	my head ache. "Yes, Miss Livingstone?' she t
GS0098			ut, I still think it's a good thing, but it just	makes	my blood boil when I see the way old people
GW0143	BR	BR	hink Kathy likes me in glasses. Her smile somehow	makes	my point that you have to get a kind of new
GW0077	BR	BR	ly I may find the next person who comes along and	makes	my day. David is sullen and holds his distan
GW0001	AA	BR	part of it, while the dread- ful affair at Quetta	makes	new, good sculpture of a very different sort
GW0002	BR	BR	id nothing to help his case. The Federal Republic	makes	no impression. The 20,000 said to have peris
GW0002	BR	BR	later than 1986. The policy of 'forward defence'	makes	no move. There is now some strain between We
GW0004	BR	BR	the ancient species, en- countering no change,	makes	no sense from a military point of view unles
GW0024	BR	BR	food in the garden ... and think of the winter. "Makes	makes	no change and plods on across the millennia,
GW0032	AM	BR	one is receiving. Hume's motorcycle, the one that	makes	no difference. Shouldn't be in a cage. Where
GW0034	BR	BR	other in a logical pro- gression, but if the mind	makes	no sense at all, will occur if our previous
GW0037	AM	BR	Your stooge is dead, How much did he tell you? It	makes	no attempt to direct the ideas and is curiou
GW0037	AM	BR	ur duty ! 'An order is an order.' " "Even when it	makes	no difference; no one here will listen to yo
GW0037	AM	BR	glared at Farnbach. "Yes," he said. "Even when it	makes	no sense ?" The captain closed his eyes, bre
GW0058	AM	AM	rm, to share with children and adults." Mrs Atkin	makes	no sense. It makes sense to your superiors o
GW0060	BR	BR	hetic," I said. Landy shrugged his shoulders. "It	makes	no charge for visitors who want to glimpse t
GW0064	AM	AM	ce again set his sights on Japan's topjob, and he	makes	no difference to me,' he said. "I'll be glad
GW0064	AM	AM	like Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt ("A Jap is a Jap. It	makes	no secret of his yearning for power. "I don'
GW0077	BR	BR	her, in this Cezanne, content has become form. It	makes	no difference whether the Jap is a citizen o
GW0077	BR	BR	large type, was the statement "Today's real (sic)	makes	no sense to separate the two. Cezanne seemed
GW0077	BR	BR	refer to a specific form of labour to which Moore	makes	no direct appeal to the emotions, nor is it
GW0080	BR	BR	n 1952 with what happened in the Northcliffe era,	makes	no reference. Smith was quite conscious of t
GS0046			picture of a reader gagged there. (2Hm hm hm) He	makes	no attempt to defend that editorial : "No on
GS0103		BR	ee and the moon subtends half a degree as near as	makes	no sound. Speaking is not a necessary part o
GS0133	AF	BR	basically in a given oral performance (and this	makes	no difference who's telling it whether it's
GW0050	BR	BR	eyes; even Lewis has reined in. This time the dog	makes	no mistake. It has the rabbit by the neck, s
GS0002	BR		which you can recognise all. She can make noises? Makes	makes	noises. Oh. She's got no (ah) no (vocal cord
GW0013	BR	BR	y, no reason to go out. The video tape collection	makes	nonsense of sitting in a darkened cinema at
GW0085	AM	BR	Forde compilation, and, of those that are in, it	makes	not conceivable sense to have F. D. R. Jones
GW0013	BR	BR	the proposition that mutually assured destruction	makes	nuclear war unthinkable. But why then are st
GW0008	AM	BR	n pont of view, the fact of the Third Reich alone	makes	obsolete for ever any question of Christian
GW0008	AM	BR	n pont of view, the fact of the Third Reich alone	makes	obsolete for ever any question of Christian
GW0004	BR	BR	tilus - only ten - and the oct[illegible]s, as its name	makes	obvious, has only eight. Of the two creature
GW0067	AM	BR	sturbances may have, following tests on weliknown	makes	of car to establish resistance to roliover,
GW0078	OT	BR	does that man is to be parsimonious in the use he	makes	of his natural environment and is not free t
GS0176	BR	BR	personal computers. There are now over a hundred	makes	of micro-computer for sale in the United Ki
GW0007	BR	BR	s the speaker jerks his body with the emphasis he	makes	on different words, so the listener makes t
GW0061	OT	BR	ked once: "What a spend- thrift! All the money he	makes	on industrious gamb- ling at night, he spend
GW0008	AM	BR	is the singer's incredibly moving exuberance that	makes	one realize how leaden the time must have be
GW0021	BR	BR	our seat. As for this French view of Scotland, it	makes	one feel, not for the first time, that there
GW0021	BR	BR	ble, physical attraction between two people? What	makes	one person feel right and another feel wrong
GW0027	BR	BR	that. A kind of revulsion, a hatred almost, that	makes	one sister draw apart, or one brother reject
GW0068	BR	BR	blame you for that. You could't have known.' "It	makes	one wonder. If there is anything one can saf

APPENDIX (A)

	GW0055	BR	BR	e over Art College. She had sulked and moaned and	made herself intolerable to live with. Mr Phillips
002	GW0071	AM	BR	the skirt. Was there a connection there? Gretchen	made herself speculate on these matters to keep fr
	GW0071	AM	BR	remembered voice, polite, countri- fied. Gretchen	made herself stop. 'Good evening, Arnold.' she sai
003	GW0086	BR	BR	e you who came along. With anyone else she'd have	made herself seriously un- happy; but with you she
	GW0117	DT	BR	s, took an interest in other people's affairs and	made herself a part of other people's families. "I
004	GW0072	AM	BR	s jowls, and even shot furtive glances at me, and	made hesitating half-thrusts with his pudgily bunc
	GW0072	AM	BR	ounten- ance - the same beatitude and grimace but	made hideous by his maleness. And I also knew that
005	GW0015	AG	BR	brought into the main centres of population, and	made highly radioactive. It is hard to imagine a g
	GW0001	AA	BR	imself to see the streak of original talent which	made him transform daily journalism in our time. N
006	GW0002	BR	BR	nd mellow fruitful ... Alarm! The cry from Henry	made him swivel and run to the tracker. He dived i
	GW0005	BR	BR	e the fact that he himself had failed as an actor	made him contemptuous of the way the London theatr
007	GW0005	BR	BR	He inherited Ellen Terry's sense of humour which	made him very amusing company, although he did not
	GW0006	AM	BR	r well intentioned effor? ts at over-patience that	made him go from one pro- vocation to another, loo
008	GW0008	AM	BR	ith whom I had last appeared on TV: What had they	made him (me) feel ? I could not answer this and w
	GW0009	BR	BR	; and not yet old enough for adolescence to have	made him awkward. You could see now that he might
009	GW0009	BR	BR	lmost at once a thin trickle of smoke rose up and	made him cough. Jack knelt too and blew gently, so
	GW0009	BR	BR	er set free below them. The knowledge and the awe	made him savage. "Oh, shut up!" "I got the conch,
010	GW0009	BR	BR	ocks that crowned the bastion. A sound behind him	made him turn. Jack was edging along the ledge. "C
	GW0009	BR	BR	ocks that crowned the bastion. A sound behind him	made him turn. Jack was edging along the ledge. "C
011	GW0009	BR	BR	m determination like an old man. A buffet of wind	made him stagger and he saw that he was out in the
	GW0010	BR	BR	utting to use the high intelligence that had once	made him the youngest colonel in the French Army a
012	GW0010	BR	BR	m the youngest colonel in the French Army and now	made him the most dangerous man in the 22 <P 23> O
	GW0010	BR	BR	first blast of the wind along the icy street. It	made him flinch, but cleared the dull headache cau
013	GW0010	BR	BR	Infomation on arrival at Schwechat. All of which	made him nervous, and the controlled calm of the E
	GW0013	BR	BR	ablishment off at the knees, set up a company and	made him managing director. A year ago he bought e
014	GW0022	BR	BR	weeks. Good job Caitlin had that party. That soon	made him leave Yes, they're all doing terribly wel
	GW0024	BR	BR	cause he had something wrong with his chest which	made him very pale and quiet and he spent most of
015	GW0024	BR	BR	, but that his testicles had failed to drop. This	made him rather interesting and a great deal of ti
	GW0024	BR	BR	ime to time, and I tried to understaud him, which	made him laugh, and he tried to understand me, whi
016	GW0025	AM	BR	ouldn't wait for any of it to come back. Life had	made him old, he'd live it out old. All those face
	GW0025	AM	BR	Jimi Hendrix: long tense organic guitar line that	made him shiver like frantic electric ecstasy was
017	GW0025	AM	BR	rrifying to him. He later said that this was what	made him stop. He dropped his duffel and looked ar
	GW0025	AM	BR	war so he could go home and kill his old lady. It	made him someone special in the company. It made a
018	GW0025	AM	BR	that when he'd walked by me that afternoon it had	made him sick. He couldn't help it. 'Shit, I can't
	GW0026		BR	'Right away.' Otto had to have something that had	made him the household name that he had become in
019	GW0026		BR	e sort of fore- knowledge or premonition that had	made him talk as he had done, that had been respon
	GW0028	AA	BR	convincing that no racial slur was intended. She	made him say it in public: "We are in the business
020	GW0028	AA	BR	ave. They didn't see him when his ineffectiveness	made him desperate, when vulnerability tempered hi
	GW0028	AA	BR	ricity of his mother's, or of the tower where she	made him live? Or the heavy mob come to beat up re
021	GW0028	AA	BR	embers of Europea. The sphere made his head spin,	made him feel slightly mad, as if he had lost touc
	GW0032	AM	BR	on. It was Phaedrus' lack of faith in reason that	made him such a fanatic teacher. That makes more s
022	GW0033	BR	BR	ll after the war. Fritz Stangl's second promotion	made him Kommandant of Sobibor. "I can't describe
	GW0034	BR	BR	a lonely man, although it isn't Suffolk which has	made him so; his is the nature which is alone in a
023	GW0035	AM	BR	and the smell of the wild- cats up on the plateau	made him too nervous to graze there. My friend sai
	GW0036	BR	BR	d looks and charm of man- ner had at the same time	made him much in demand for putting the Roman Cath
024	GW0036	BR	BR	ks and test his political water, to find out what	made him behave in so unorthodox a manner. The Lib
	GW0037	AM	BR	caring, attending, concerned about the past. They	made him be his best, finding genuine feeling agai
025	GW0037	AM	BR	f former Nazis. It was one of the few things that	made him think God might be real and at work, if o
	GW0039	BR	BR	d aircraft, chew- ing a dead cigar (a hostess has	made him extinguish it) and glowering at the meagr
026	GW0039	BR	BR	ibliography, and the realization slowed him down,	made him cautious. Some years ago he had embarked
	GW0039	BR	BR	nd, and the sight of all this unsolici- ted booty	made him slightly delirious. He rather wished Wily
027	GW0039	BR	BR	ously. The silent, brooding presence of the woman	made him uncomfortable, spoiled his enjoyment of t
	GW0039	BR	BR	f Hamlet. Nobody believed him of course, and this	made him sore as hell. He said did we think he was
028	GW0040	BR	BR	s the rules.' It may have been my expression that	made him add, 'But all the same I'll pay for them.
	GW0040	BR	BR	freely as he wanted to do. Frustration in feeding	made him suck his thumb. But the family doctor sai
029	GW0051	AM	BR	lessed Jesus and flogged him to the woods And the	made him hew out his cross and the dragged him to

made hers

making

APPENDIX (D)

Question No. 2.

You must write on each line; otherwise, you will lose marks.

On Friday, 12th May at about 8:15 am, I was walking to the Kowloon City. When I wanted to buy something, therefore I went to the store. After, I accrossed the First Alley, I saw the two men ran to the street. But I ~~do~~ did not think the two men were the rubbish.

After minuates, the policeman accrossed this street, ~~he~~ when he saw the two men, but the two men were went out. In that time, he wanted me to give some information for him.

In the police station, the policeman give one of a factual report. At the first, I wrote down my name and the date. At the second, I was writing the two men ran to the First Alley, the two men wore the T-shirts and they have the long bag. I heard one man said 'I 'll be glad to take this stocking off my face.' In the that time a thin man hidded his clothes and then the a fat man dropped the gun down the drain. When they finished to put down their clothes and the gun. The fat man said 'I 've dropped the gun down the drain. Let 's go!' They went to the other exit of the First Alley. Because It was because one women to drives the car to wait for them.

The car 's NO is HK EZ1313.

When I finished a report, the policeman to check. And then he asked me some questions. What colour was the long bag? I said 'the long bag was black and the bag printed the CKO. The policeman to ask me the last question. He asked 'What were they wear ?' I said 'At the first, they were the long T-shirts, after they wore the short T-shirt, the thin man brought printed the bag in his hand. and the driver brought her

Question No. 2.

After, the policeman wanted this ~~information~~ information to help in this case. At the last, he ~~wanted~~ me, ~~when~~ when to see them, ~~you to Have~~ were quickly to find the policeman to catch them. (325 Words)

). Essay Competition (1991).

On Friday, 12th May at about 8.15am, I was walking by the first alley on my way to work, I work in a newsag ent ~~and~~ which didnt till 9.00am, but I wanted to get along there just a little early to set everything up in the shop because were closing the shop down and were having a sale.

As I was coming up to the alley I heard ~~a~~ some male voices wispering and talking about ~~g~~ getting stockings off their faces. I was a little suspicic and so I stopped by the wall ~~to~~ and poked my head ~~neou~~ nervously round the corner of the wall.

I quickly ~~p~~ hid my face behind the wall again when I saw two men with bags in their hands, with the letters "O.K.O" printed on them, Running up the alley towards me with stockings over their heads.

I was just about to run away and ~~hide~~ watch for them coming out of the alley from a safer distance, when the scurrying sound of feet suddent stopped, and all was silent.

I began to grow a little curious, so I poked ~~t~~ my head ~~back~~ round the corner again, a little more cautious than the first time, and saw ~~the~~ one ~~two~~ ~~nacoj~~ of the men leaning over something, I couldnt see because he had

his back turned ~~on~~ on me, and the other man was stuffing ~~their~~ their clothes into a bin that was in the alley.
The man that was hiding the clothes said to the other man that he had hidden the clothes, and then the other man who was leaning ove something in the middle of the alley said that he had ~~hidden~~ dropped the gun down the drain so thats what he was leaning over.
~~The~~ ~~two~~ ~~men~~ When I heard talk of a gun I decided I had better make myself scarce, and so I ran back the the block before this one, and ~~peked~~ viewed the rest of it from there.
Just as I had ran round the corner and was in my position, I saw a car pull up will a lady at the wheel. The two men got into the car with their bags. The car was a black, ~~a~~ Saloon, American looking car, registration "EZ1313", which I wrote in my note pad just so that I wouldnt forget.
The woman was wearing sunglasses and black bushy hair, thats all I could see because she never got ~~of~~ out of the car. One of the men was wearing a creamy, dirting looking shirt, jeans (blue), black, straight hair, and he had a heart shaped tatoo on his left arm (round about where you get your B.C.G).
The other man had brown, messy hair, a round face, a scar running from betw

his left eye and his left ear down to level with his mouth. he had a skinny mustache + quite long, a piece of string round his neck with a a ring on it. and a light blue T-shirt on and jeans (blue). He was sort of Italian looking or Spanish.

The bags which I ~~gessed~~ ~~guessed~~ ~~geussed~~ guessed the loot was in were yellow and had "O.k.O" printed on them, and they were bundled into the car.

When the men and bags were in the car, the car drove off past me

The clothes that had been stuffed in the bin consisted of two blue jackets (navy), one jacket had a "2" printe inside a yellow diamond shape on the back, the other jacket had a creamy coloured hood on the back. There were also two pairs of gloves (black ones) which the men wore.

#I didnt bring the clothes to the potice station because I know you dont like anything being moved or touched so I just came straight here, nowbody else was around that area, that I saw.

R. Brown.